



MANUAL OF THE PUDUKKÓTTAI STATE

Volume II Part I
(Second and Revised Edition)

**EDITED BY
K.R. VENKATARAMA AYYAR**

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COMMISSIONER OF MUSEUMS

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GOVERNMENT OF TAMIL NADU
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A MANUAL
OF
THE PUDUKKÓTTAI STATE.

Volume II, Part I.
(Second and Revised Edition.)

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EDITED BY
K. R. VENKATARAMA AYYAR.

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Transliteration and Pronunciation.

The accepted International scheme of transliteration of Indian sounds has been followed. The short *a* should be pronounced like *a* in America or *u* in Sun. *c* (approximating in pronunciation to *ch* in church) stands for च-च्, but *ch* has been retained in words much too current in modern use, e. g. *Chidambaram*, and *Chinnaranmanai*. *ṭ* stands for ट्; *ḍ* for ड्; *ṭ* for त्-त्; *ṭ* for छ्; *ṇ* for ण्-ण्; *ṇ* for ण्-ण्; *ṇ* for ण्-ण्; *r* for र्; *ṣ* for ष्; and *ṣ* for ष्-ष्. In the case of *kh*, *gh*, etc., the aspirate should be distinctly heard.



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FOREWORD

On the initiative taken by Sir William Black Burner, a statistical account of Pudukkottai State was taken as early as in 1813 AD. The statistical account written in palm leaves is still preserved in the Government Museum, Pudukkottai. The next move in the direction of recording and preserving the natural and cultural wealth of the state was taken at the turn of 20th century. In 1910 AD, a Museum and the Department of Archaeology were established. A Special Officer was appointed to gather statistics on various aspects of the state to prepare a Manual. The State Manual Officer brought out a Manual in 1920. However, in course of time it lost its charm. In June 1934, the Pudukkottai Durbar decided to bring out a new and upto date edition. Thiru K.R. Venkatarama Aiyar worked for it and the first volume was brought out in 1938. After two years, in 1940, the first part of the Second volume was released as a revised second edition. It dealt with the history of Pudukkottai region from the Paleolithic Age to the time of its last Thondaiman ruler His Highness Rajagopala Thondaiman.

This is an important work for the study of South Indian History particularly for about 250 years from the middle of 17th Century AD. As it is out of print for a long time, scholars find it difficult to consult this book. After six decades, this book is being reprinted due to a grant from the Government of Tamilnadu.

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A MANUAL OF THE PUDUKKÓTTAI STATE.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE STATE.

SECTION I.—EARLIEST TIMES TO SIXTH CENTURY A. D.

Pudukkóttai as a political unit is of recent origin. The history of the State begins with the foundation towards the close of the 17th century of the two independent *Toṇḍaimān* principalities of Pudukkóttai and *Koḷattūr* and their amalgamation about the year 1750 A. D.

What is now Pudukkóttai territory is believed to have been inhabited in remote times by the *Kurumbars* and *Véḍars* who were amongst the earliest inhabitants of South India. Remnants of the *Kurumba* tribe are still to be found in the State. Other tribes migrated into this territory, among whom were the *Kārālars* and the *Vellālars* who were agriculturists, the *Chettians* who were traders, and the *Maṟavars* and *Kaḷḷars* who were warriors. The *Pāṇḍyas*, the *Cólas* and the *Pallavas* were the three principal powers that shared this territory till the 15 or 16th century, and here were fought a number of battles that decided the supremacy of one or other of these dynasties; the *Muhammadans*, *Vijayanagar* Kings and *Nayaks*, and *Sétupatis* (of *Ramnad*) ruled later. In the following sections are briefly traced the vicissitudes through which this territory passed from prehistoric times till the 18th century A. D. when *Toṇḍaimān* rule was firmly established over it under the suzerainty of the British Crown.

PRE-HISTORY AND PROTO-HISTORY—BURIAL-
URNS AND DOLMENS.

Though we are not at present in possession of direct evidence in the shape of Paleolithic implements, etc., yet the existence of many natural caverns and rock shelters, for example, those at Śittannavāsal, Nārttāmalai, Ténimalai, Śevalimalai and Kuḍumiyāmalai, such as were the earliest abodes of man, and the density of population that the territory seems to have had in neolithic and iron ages, lend plausibility to the conjecture that this tract must have been the home of Paleolithic man. Professor P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar holds this belief strongly. There are a number of burial sites* awaiting the spade of the archæologist, and further excavations may confirm this view.

We are on surer ground when we come to Neolithic times. The few burial sites so far opened have disclosed neolithic celts, pottery and ornaments, some of which are exhibited in the State Museum. "The best district for the study of the burial customs of Neolithic man", observes Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, "is the Pudukkóttai State. The burial sites are so many that it appears the region round the modern town of Pudukkóttai must have been occupied by man continuously from the Paleolithic age right up to modern times.....Miles and miles of such burial sites, generally near water courses have been observed by me in the Pudukkóttai territory."† Many of these burial sites are conserved by the State, and a few have been opened by Mr. Venkatarangam Raju, Curator of the State Museum, and by Professor P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar and the present writer with his help.

General description of the burial sites.—These burial sites are easily identified. They are on elevated ground usually consisting of quartz gravel and near a water course and sometimes

* A list of ancient burials in the State is given in Vol. I, pages 515-18.

† Srinivasa Iyengar P. T. "The Stone Age in India"—Sir Subramanya Iyer lecture delivered at the Madras University on December 10, 1925, Government Press, Madras.

cover an area of three or four acres. Fragments of pottery are found on the surface, and parts of urns still buried in the ground are sometimes exposed. The site of a cist or a buried urn is often surrounded by a circle of laterite or granite boulders of from five to eight feet in diameter.

As Mr. Rea has pointed out, these sites are found to the south of the ancient settlements—south being the direction in which the God of Death is believed to dwell. They are commonly known as *kuraṅguppattarai* or *kuraṅguppattadai* (meaning *monkeys' workshop*), since it is believed that they were made by the monkey hosts that accompanied Rāma to Laṅka. They are also called in the State *Madamadakkattāḷi*, and elsewhere *Pāṇḍavakkūḷi*. *Madamadakkattāḷi* is a corruption of *mudumakkattāḷi* (*mudumakkattāḷi*) or perhaps *mudumakkaṭṭāḷi*, which means old men's or burial urn. Tamil literature of the Saṅgam and later periods refers to them by these names. These are also called *Imattāḷi* (*Imam* means obsequies; and *tāḷi*, pot). *Pāṇḍavakkūḷi* is probably a corruption of *bhāṇḍakkūḷi* or *pāṇḍakkūḷi* (*bhāṇḍa* in Sanskrit and *pāṇḍa* in Tamil mean *pot* or *urn*; *kūḷi* means *pit*).

Three types of burials.—Excavations have revealed three types of burials. They are (1) grave-burials; (2) urn-burials and (3) burials in subterranean chambers formed of stone slabs.

The first type of burial is referred to by the Curator of the State Museum on page 1 of the 'Bulletin (No. 1) of the State Museum' (1917) as occurring side by side with some of the urn-burials. Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar is of opinion that it was practised by the poor.* Mr. A. Rea observes that "males who had to be buried in a crouching or sitting posture were enclosed in receptacles, while the females who were placed in a horizontal posture required no such vessels."†

* "Stone Age in India"—page 41; "History of the Tamils" Madras University, 1929, page 476.

† A. Rea: Some pre-historic burial places in Southern India (Megalithic and Earthenware tombs at Pallāvaram). J. A. S. B. Vol. LVII, Part I, No. 2 of 1888.

Urn-burials were excavated in 1917 by Mr. K. Venkatarangam Raju, Curator of the State Museum, in the Town forest near Tirukkaṭṭalai, at Nilayapaṭṭi in Pulvayal forest, near Moṭṭaimalai north-west of Sellukuḍi (a Kuṟumba settlement from time immemorial) and Araṇipaṭṭi (another Kuṟumba village), in 1919 near Śaḍaiyapārai (Tirugókarṇam) by the Curator, Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar and the present writer and again in 1938 at Tiruppúr (Kolattúr Taluk) by the Curator. Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar writes "the dead men were placed in a sitting posture in an earthenware pot—the pot was then let into a pit and half filled with sand and rice, and other grains on a tray were placed before the dead man. His stone tools were also inserted at the sides of the pot. The foodstuffs and the tools were no doubt intended for the use of the dead man in his post-mortem life, for the Neolithians believed in the life of the spirit of man after death. Then more sand was poured into the pot till it was full and the pot covered with an earthenware lid. The pit was then filled in and a stone slab placed on it. Then more sand was poured, and another stone slab, this time very large and oval in shape, was placed above the grave and upright stones about a cubit long planted all round the slab.....The burial urns vary in size, the largest measuring 4 feet in height* and 3 feet 6 inches in diameter in the broadest part.....They are sometimes adorned with incised lines (potters' marks)." †

Most of the urns were devoid of any ornament and contained small pots of various shapes and sizes, and sometimes elegant bronze vessels. Small pots are also found buried round the urns. They are either red or red with a black rim. Some of them contained personal ornaments of the deceased, such as bracelets made of bronze or chank shells, nose-rings, and cornelian and glass beads bored with a hole for a string to pass through.

* The single urn dug up at Tiruppúr measuring about 6 feet high seems to be the biggest so far unearthed.

† "Stone Age in India" —pp. 41—42.

In some places iron swords, daggers, spear heads and arrow heads with spiked or hollow handles, *valaris*, and other weapons were found buried round the urns with their point downwards. Less usually, as in the urns unearthed in the Town reserve forest, similar but smaller and more elegant weapons were found inside the urns themselves, and one excavated at Moṭṭaimalai contained three small earthenware vessels, in one of which were two polished stone weapons, a stone spear-head with a spiked handle 3 inches in length, and a scraper. The urns generally contained human bones, and two in the Pulvayal forest contained complete skeletons, seated and holding short swords in their right hands, while the left arms rested on the thighs. In one of the Pulvayal urns was found a sword 18 inches long with human teeth adhering to the blade which bore embossed decorations near the handle.*

More than sixty of the *third* class of burials or *megalithic dolmens* were excavated by Mr. Raju in 1934-1935 at Śittannavāsai, Araṇippaṭṭi, Śurandappaṭṭi, Tachanpaṭṭi, and Toḍaiyūr † and in 1938 at Muṭṭukāḍu near Toḍaiyūr, Kaliyāpaṭṭi, Kaḷakkuḍippaṭṭi, and Tiruppūr. These cists were usually enclosed by a circle varying from 18 to 23 feet in diameter, composed of large laterite boulders. Inside the circle, the slabs forming the cells projected to a height of 2 or 3 feet above the ground. Excavation to a depth of 2 to 3 feet brought to light broken pieces of stone slabs and boulders. Under these, regular stone cells were found. Each cell was composed of a chamber about 8 feet square and 7 feet in depth, with a smaller outer chamber about 4 feet broad, 4 feet long and 3 feet deep attached to its eastern side. The larger chamber was divided into two by a vertical stone slab placed across it east and west, and pierced with two holes one above the other each large enough for a man to crawl through. A hole was pierced in the west wall of the outer

* Abridged from Bulletin No. 1. Pudukkóṭṭai State Museum, 1917.

† Administration Report of the Pudukkóṭṭai State Museum for fasli 1344, pp. 2-3.

chamber, giving access to the southern partition of the main chamber. The sides of both chambers were formed of massive slabs of cut-stone planted on their edges and about 6 to 8 inches thick. The floor was formed by a similar large slab. The northern half of the main chamber was divided into an upper and a lower cell by a horizontal slab, supported on two upright side slabs at the ends, and the two holes mentioned above in the central partition give access to these two storeys, as it were. The holes in the partition slab of the main chamber, and in the slab separating the smaller and larger chambers, were closed on both sides by thin stone slabs with earth filled in between them. All the chambers were filled with earth, broken stones and boulders, to a depth of about three feet from the surface, and below that with sand mixed with lime. All finds of any importance were found at a depth of about four to five feet below the ground level and only in the two partitions of the main chamber. They consisted chiefly of baked earthenware utensils of different shapes and sizes and iron weapons of different sorts. Most of these were broken. No traces of human bones were found. All the earthenware pots found contained sand mixed with lime. The weapons were much corroded. In one instance an iron vessel like a saucer, 7½ inches in diameter, was found. In another, thin plates of bronze, evidently fragments of some bronze vessel, were found. In another a stone ball, evidently a missile, was discovered.

Date of these burials:—These burials are commonly referred to as prehistoric or 'neolithic,' but they are not all as old as they are believed to be.* The memory of such burials survived far into the historic times, to as late as the 12th—13th centuries when, though they may no longer have been practised, they are referred to in the works of the Tamil poet Oṭṭakkúttar (see *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, *Kulóttuṅga Cōlanulā*, *Vikrama*

* Burials datable within historic times have been found along with the *stūpas* at Amarāvati.

Cólanulá, and *Śaṅkara Cólānula*). In *Maṇimékhala*i one of the twin epics of the Saṅgam epoch the following verse occurs:—

சடுவேர், இடுவேர், தொடுகுழி படுப்போர்,
* தாழ்வயினடைப்போர் தாழியிற்கவிப்போர். (vi, 67-68).

This enumerates classes practising different modes of disposing of the dead, namely, (1) those who cremate (*Sūduvór*—சடுவேர்), (2) those who simply expose the body and leave it to decay (*Iḍuvór*—இடுவேர்), (3) those who bury the dead in deep graves (*Toḍukuḷi-paḍup্পór*—தொடுகுழிபடுப்போர்), (4) those who entomb the dead in strong low vaults (*Tāḷvayinaḍaippór*—தாழ்வயினடைப்போர்) or vaults made of hard stone (*Kāḷvayinaḍaippór*—காழ்வயினடைப்போர்), and (5) those who inter them in urns and cover them up (*Tāḷiyirkavippór*—தாழியிற்கவிப்போர்). The first method, that of cremation, is a Védic rite, but even after it was introduced into Southern India, the other methods were also practised. The second was in vogue till comparatively late times,† and the third is very common. The other Saṅgam works, which belong to a few centuries before and after the Christian era, are replete with references to urn-burials. Thus the period to which any of the burials under consideration belongs can only be determined by the nature of the associated finds. Those, where only *neolithic* implements are found, without any iron or bronze, are *neolithic*, and therefore *pre-historic*. The burial-urn from Moṭṭaimalai described above is an example of this class. The other burials, both urn and megalithic, where iron implements and vessels predominate, sometimes with a few bronze articles also, and where there is a total absence of *neoliths*, can only be said to belong at the earliest to the *iron age* that succeeded the *neolithic age* and

* *சாழ்வயின* is another reading.

† *Atharvāna Vēda Samhitā* XVIII, 2-34 mentions among the *Pitṛs* invoked in the *Pinḍapitṛyagña* (offering of balls of rice to the manes), the *Paróptas* (those abandoned in distant places) and the *Uddhaitas* (those exposed on elevated localities). Exposure of the dead persists to-day in a modified form among the Tibetans and Parsis. Yuan Chwang, the Chinese pilgrim, mentions this as one of the three recognised methods of disposal of the dead in India.

continued into historic times. It is not known when the pre-historic Iron age in Southern India began, or whether there was any distinct bronze age there.*

Distribution of the burials in the State.—On pages 515–18 (Volume I, Chapter XXII) is given a list of the principal places, about 60 in number, where burial urns and megalithic tombs are found in the State. Kolattūr Taluk has the largest number and Ālaṅguḍi the smallest. Those discovered in the Ālaṅguḍi Taluk are mostly near the capital, at Puttāmbūr and Śembāṭṭūr and at Peruṅgaḷūr and Ādanakkóṭṭai. A large majority of the burial sites occur in the northern and western parts of the State, which appear to have been the earliest inhabited. The eastern part of the State, comprising the bulk of the Ālaṅguḍi Taluk, seems to have been covered with jungle and hence sparsely inhabited in early times.

LITHIC RECORDS.

The earliest lithic record† in the State is an inscription ascribed to the 2nd or 3rd century B. C. in the natural cavern on the hill at Śittannavāśai. It consists of a single line running on two adjacent sides of a “bed” cut on the floor of the cave. The characters are Asóka-Brāhmi, of a type peculiar to South India and found elsewhere only in similar natural caverns in the Madura and Tinnevely Districts. This script is ascribed by Dr. Buhler to the third and second centuries B. C. According to Mr. K. V. Subramania Iyer the script resembles in many respects the character of the Ceylon cave records of the same period on the one hand, and the Bhaṭṭiprólu alphabet on the other, and he considers that it must be ascribed to the third

* There is a conflict of opinion among scholars as to whether the use of iron was introduced from Northern India into the South or *vice versa*. (See Dr. Guha's Introduction to the Census of India Vol. I, Part III, and Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar's ‘Stone Age,’ page 48.)

† See “Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkóṭṭai State” and “Chronological List of Inscriptions of the Pudukkóṭṭai State”, Inscription No. 1. This has been translated and edited in the “Inscriptions of the Pudukkóṭṭai State—translated into English” pp. 1–3.

century B. C. The inscription is in Tamil, and records the fact that the men of the Ilaiyar clan of Cittupócil (an old name for Sittannavásal) lodged an ascetic (?) named Kàvidi Íten, of the village of Kumaṭṭúr, in Oymà or Eṛumà nàdu, in this cavern. *Kàvidi* is an ancient title conferred by kings on Vellàla nobles. *Kumaṭṭúr* is mentioned in the Sangam works. *Eṛumà nàdu* is an old name for the country round Tindivanam.

It has been suggested that the cave was originally occupied by Buddhist hermits, but seeing that there are a Jain rock-cut temple on the other side of this very hill, and images of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras at Annavásal not far away, it is more probable that it was occupied by Jaina ascetics in the pre-Christian era.

We have epigraphical evidence of other Jain ascetics having occupied the same cave in the 7th-9th centuries, in the form of inscriptions in archaic Tamil characters mentioning a few names of persons on the other beds in the cavern (P. S. I.* No 7).

THE SANGAM AGE.

Panrinadu and its three Kurrams.—The tract now included in the State formed one of the twelve divisions of the Tamil country,† called *Panrinádu* (lit. 'the land of the Pigs'), lying between Pāṇḍinādu with Madura as its capital on the south, and the Punal nādu‡ on the north. The Cólas held the northern portion of the State, and the Pāṇḍyas, the southern; the river Vellār formed the boundary between the two. The tract to the north of the Vellār was called *Kónādu*, and that to the south, *Kánādu* or *Kánanādu*. *Kónādu* comprised the following three divisions or *Kúrrams*—*Uraiyúr Kúrram* (including the north-

* P. S. I. is the abbreviation used in this Volume for "Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkóṭṭai State" and "Chronological List of Inscriptions of the Pudukkóṭṭai State."—State Press 1929.

† According to Sangam works, these twelve divisions formed the area where the dialect *Koṇṭamīl* (as opposed to *Sentamīl*, the standard dialect) was spoken.

‡ In the wider sense of the word, *Punal Nādu* means *Cóla Nādu*. Here it refers to the riverine portion of *Cóla Nādu*.

western part of the State), and *Ollaiyúr Kúrram* and *Urattúr Kúrram* (forming the rest of the northern half of the State), and Kànadu included *Atalai* or *Kànakúrram* and *Milalaikkúrram*.

Some place names in the Sangam works.—*Puṇandnūru* describes the *Ollaiyúrnādu* with its capital *Ollaiyúr* (the modern Oliyamaṅgalam) and refers to it as the birthplace of the Sangam poet *Ollaiyúrkilān makan Peruñcàttan* (Peruñcàttan, son of the Kilān-chief of Ollaiyúr). On the death of this poet and hero, Kuḍavāyir Kirattanār another poet sang of him—

‘Oh thou, mullai (jasmine) creeper in the Ollaiyúr nādu, why doth thou blossom any longer? Now that Sàttan (Peruñcàttan) of the mighty bow (or spear?), the hero of many a battle and the slayer of warriors, is dead, no more shall the Ilaiya heroes, the bard who gracefully strikes the chords of the fair *yāl* (harp) or the songstress wear your blossoms.’ (*Puṇam* 242).

This stanza is of particular interest on account of the reference to the *Ilaiya* clan who inhabited this tract. (See the Sittarnavāsal Brāhmi inscription discussed above).

One of the Pāṇḍyan chiefs, named *Ollaiyúrtanda Bhūta-pāṇḍyan* (Bhūta Pāṇḍyan who gave Ollaiyúr), was a poet of the Sangam age and the author of one verse in *Ahanānūru* and three in *Puṇandnūru*. His queen, who committed *Sati* on his death, also wrote poetry (See *Puṇam* 246 and 247). *Ahanānūru* too (poems 25 and 279) refers to Ollaiyur, which was probably one of the capitals of the Pāṇḍyas. Inscription No. 309 of the Pudukkóttai State list calls it also Madurai.

Aḷumbil, another town mentioned in *Ahanānūru* 44 and situated in the Pāṇḍya country according to the commentary, may be identified with the modern *Ambukkóvil*. Pudukkóttai State Inscriptions Nos. 458, 522 and 580 refer to it as *Aḷumbil*. In the Ammācatram copper plate grant, Rāmasvāmi Tondaimān, the donor, traces his descent from the chief of Aḷumbilnādu to the south of the Kāvéri.

The late Mr. S. Radhakrishna Aiyar refers to *Idaiyárrur* in the State as a village mentioned in Sangam works. Evidently he identifies *Idaiyárrur* with *Idaiyáru* mentioned in *Aham*.

Ávúrkilár and *Ávúr Múlankilár* are two poets of *Ávúr*. Dr. Swàminàtha Aiyar considers that the *Ávúr* in question is that to the south of the Kàvéri in the Còla country. *Ávúrkúrram* is mentioned in inscriptions as part of *Nittavinódavalanādu* (the modern taluks of Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Mannārgudi). There is an *Ávúr* in the Kolattúr Taluk of the State about ten miles to the south of Uraiýúr which is now a Roman Catholic Christian village. Poem 44 in the *Puram* describes the siege of *Ávúr*, and Poem 45 the siege of Uraiýúr. In both, Nedungillī and his army were besieged by Nalangillī. The two places must therefore have been near each other. *Ávúrkilár* has a characteristic simile; he compares the thorns of the *Kallī* (*Euphorbia antiquorum*) to the blunted horns of a bull. This shrub is abundant near *Ávúr* and not in the deltaic tracts of the Kavéri. These considerations justify the conclusion that *Ávúr* in the State was the birthplace of the two poets.*

Ēnādi Tirukkīlī is the subject of laudatory verses by Māḍalan Māduraikkumaranār of *Ēriccalúr* situated in the Kónādu. Dr. Swàminàtha Aiyar has the following note on *Ēriccalúr*.—"This is probably the village known as *Ēricci* in Pudukkóttai" (See footnote on pages 326 and 624 and page 650 of Dr. Swàminàtha Aiyar's edition of the *Puranānūru*). *Ēricci* is just beyond the State limits on the Pudukkóttai—Arantāngi road.

Tradition connects Avayāppatti, a village in the Kolattúr Taluk with the celebrated poetess Auvaiyār who is believed to have lived there for some time.

There are a number of villages in the State bearing the Còla appellations—*Kīlī* and *Vaḷavan*.†

* Prof. K. A. N. Sastri, however, places it to the north of the Coleroon.

† *Kīlī* and *Vaḷavan* mean *Còla*.

Another town in the State referred to in the Sangam works is *Koḍumbai* (modern *Koḍumbālūr*). *Śilappadikāram* mentions it as an important place on the high road from Uraiyūr to Madura.

‘If you travel wearily along the hilly and rugged highway lying straight across the arid plains with their delusive mirages and pass the tank common to Koḍumbai and Neḍungulam, you will see before you three roads diverging like the prongs of Siva’s trident. Take the road to the right and you will pass through forests full of the spreading *Kaḍambu* (*Barringtonia racemosa*), the mango, the Vāgai (*Albizzia lebbek*) with rough bark, the tough bamboo, and the striped bowstring-hemp-*maral* or *marul* (*Sansevieria Zeylanica*) all dried up, where the hungry deer bellows loudly for water, and at last reach the district of the hunters. Further on you will see the Śirumalai hills with their fields of varagu, turmeric and garlic, where plantains on the hill slopes bend with the weight of their clusters, and areca, mango, jack and other trees abound. If you take the road to the left of the hills, you reach Madura. If you take the other road to the right, you pass through low-lying lands and flower gardens where the winged bees hum melodious tunes like those of the yāl (harp), then traverse the forest path infested with wild beasts and at last you reach Alagarmalai.’

In this free rendering of canto 11 lines 65–91 of the *Śilappadikāram* verses the reader familiar with this part of the country will easily recognise the high road from Trichinopoly to Madura that traverses the State and passes Koḍumbālūr.

The Pandya kings of the Sangam Age.—The Pāṇḍya kingdom included the modern districts of Tinnevely, Ramnād and Madura and the Tirumayam Taluk of Pudukkóttai State. The Sangam works mention about twenty names of Pāṇḍya kings and give interesting anecdotes about them. So far all attempts at establishing the chronology of these kings have failed. None of them except one mentioned in the Vélvikkūḍi

grant as having ruled long before the Kalabhra interregnum (See page 540 below) can be identified in the copper plates of the Pàṇḍyas of the first empire (C. 590 to 920 A. D.).

The following is a tentative list of the Pàṇḍyan kings referred to in Sangam literature.*

1. Neḍiyón.

2. Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḷudi (Both are referred to in the *Maduraikkāṇṇi*.) Nediýón is an almost mythical figure whose achievements find a place in the 'Sacred Sports' (*Tiruvilaiyāḍāḷ Purāṇam*) of Maḍura.

3. Neḍuñjeliyan (Āriyappaḍaikaḍanda)—ruled at the period in which the story of the *Śilappadikāram* is laid. He performed many Védic sacrifices. He was also a great warrior (*Puram* 15-11).

4. Verrivérceliyan or Iḷaṇjéliyan (son of No. 3)

5. Neduñjeliyan, the victor of Talaiyālangānam, who defeated a formidable coalition of the Coḷa and Céra monarchs and five minor chiefs and annexed the Miḷalaikkúṟṟam and Muttúrkúṟṟam after defeating Vél Evvi.

6. Iḷamperuvaḷudi.†

7. Nambi Neduñjeliyan.

8. Pàṇḍyan Naḷvaḷudi.

9. Cittiramāḍattu Tuñjiya Nanmāran.

10. Anḍarmakan kuṟuvaḷudi.

11. Pàṇḍyan Pannāḍutandān.

12. Pàṇḍyan Mālaimāran.

13. Pàṇḍyan Muḍattirumāran.

14. Pàṇḍyan Māran Vaḷudi.

15. Pàṇḍyan Velliyaṁbalattu Tuñjiya Peruvaḷudi.

16. Karungaioḷvātperum Peyar Vaḷudi.

17. Pàṇḍyan Kíran Sàttan.

* K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: 'The Pandyan Kingdom,' pages 26 to 30.

† *Seliyan, Pañjavan, Tennavan, Vaḷudi, Māran, Mīnavan and Kavuriyan*, all of which mean *Pàṇḍyan*, are titles borne by the Pàṇḍyan Kings.

18. Kúḍakàrattu Tuñjiya Màran Vaḷudi.
19. Pàṇḍyan Aṟivuḍai Nambi (author of several short poems.
20. Ilavandikaippallittuñjiya Nanmàram (who was pilloried by two poets for his illiberality).
21. Ugrapperuvaḷudi. (To this king tradition ascribes the collection of the *Aham* poems into an anthology.)

As Mr. Nīlakanta Sàstri observes, some of these 'numerous kings' with their 'clumsy names and titles,' as Sir Vincent Smith characterises them, may have only been members of the royal family and never have actually ruled.

22. Ollaiyúrtanda Bhútapàṇḍyan and his queen, well known for her song (*Puṟam* 246) on the occasion of her *sati*, have been referred to above (see page 528). This king, whose name is associated with Ollaiyúr (Oliyamaṅgalam) in the State, is described 'as a loving husband who was lucky in the company of his cultured wife and dreaded separation from her, and a prince who valued his friends more than is the rule with princes.'* It is just possible, as Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar remarks, that while the Pàṇḍya king reigned at the capital, other petty chiefs ruled over parts of his nominal dominions.

The Cola Kings of the Sangam Age—We shall leave out of account the mythical kings mentioned in the Sangam works. The two outstanding Cōla kings of this period are Karikāla and Kóccenganà.

Karikala.—His escape from prison, into which he was thrown by his enemies early in his youth, and his coming to power are a favourite theme with bards. At Veṇṇi (Kóvilveṇṇi) he defeated the Pàṇḍya and Céra kings with whom were allied eleven minor chieftains. He destroyed the power of the many Oliya chiefs, of the ancient lords of the Aruva country, of "the kings of the North" and those of Kuḍanàḍu, and of the herdsman

* K. A. Nīlakanta Sastri : 'The Pàṇḍyan Kingdom,' page 80.

dynasty including the chief of Irungóvél (*Paṭṭinappālai* lines 274-282), who ruled over a district the capital of which was Kodumbālúr. Karikāla extended his conquests to Kāñci (Conjeevaram), and into the country of the Poduva chiefs (the modern Cuddappah and Kurnool districts). The territories over which he held direct sway extended from the Pālār almost to the southern boundary of the modern Pudukkóṭṭai State.

After Karikāla, there were constant feuds between the rival clans of the Cólas, especially between the houses of Uraiyúr and Puhār (*Kàvérippúmpaṭṭinam*). One of these was the civil war between *Nalangilli* and *Nedungilli*. Nalangilli is perhaps the Ilangón mentioned in the *Manimékalai* as the hero of the great battle of Kariyāru in which the Pāṇḍya and Céra hosts were defeated. Nedungilli the ruler of Uraiyúr was once besieged in Ávúr by Nalangilli who had also besieged Uraiyúr. *Puram* 44 describes the horrors of the siege.

Kiḷivaḷavan, king of Uraiyúr, besieged and captured Karúr, the Céra capital, an achievement much celebrated by contemporary bards; and it was at the intercession of the bard Áláttur Kiḷār that the city was saved from destruction. A poem of Nakkírar (*Aham* 345) mentions the defeat of Kiḷivaḷavan near Madura by the Pāṇḍya general Paḷaiyan Māran. Kiḷivaḷavan waged war against Malaiyamàn of Malāḍu on the banks of the Pennār. He died at Kuḷamurram.

Kópperuñjólān another Uraiyúr king was himself a poet and was the patron of two bards Áṇḍai and Pottiyār.

The renowned *Perunarkilli* conquered the recalcitrant Cóla princes and established his sway over the whole Cóla country. He was the first Tamil king to perform the Védic sacrifice of *Rájasúya*, to indicate that his sovereignty was unchallenged, and is therefore known as *Rájasúyam véṭṭa Perunarkilli*. He was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya king Ugrapperuvaludi (Ugrapāṇḍya). Perunarkilli, the Cóla, Ugrapperuvaludi, the Pāṇḍya, and Māri Venkó, the Céra, met together on the occasion of the *Rájasúya* and received the benediction of the great Tamil

poetess Auvaiyār (*Puṇam* 967). The name of Perunarkillī Cōla is associated with a Jain shrine known as Kallāṟruppallī at Sadaiyarmalai (Sadaiyāppārai near Tirugókarnam) in the tract called Tenkavināḍu in inscription No. 530 of the Pudukkóttai State, dated the 24th year of an unidentified Pāṇḍya king Konérinmaikonḍān.

Passing over other petty princes mentioned in the *Aham* and *Puṇam*, we shall only refer to one other king, Kócceṅgaṇan the facts of whose life are concealed by a haze of myths and legends. *Puṇanánūru* and *Kalavaḷi*, and the hymns of Tirugñānasambandar, Sundaramūrti and Tirumangai, all post Sangam works, extol his piety and devotion. He defeated the Céra king Kanaikkāl Irumporai and kept him in captivity. He is described as an ardent devotee of Śiva in whose honour he is said to have built seventy temples, and among them the great temple of Jambukésvaram near Trichinopoly, but he was a worshipper of Viṣṇu also.

Government and Social Life.*

Monarchy.—The Government was at this period a hereditary monarchy in theory but disputed successions and civil wars were very common.

The Government was an autocracy tempered by respect for traditional maxims and the counsels of ministers. It appears however to have been generally benevolent, if only because the autocrat usually hesitated to run counter to custom. The literature of the age gives the impression that the people were generally proud of their kings and loyal to them.

The *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimékalai* mention the attendants who formed the royal suite on ceremonial occasions. They comprised the *ainperunguḷu* (five groups) and *enpérḍyam* (eight groups), but their exact functions are still doubtful though some historians believe that they formed a council of elders whom the king consulted.

* The material for this section has been largely drawn from Prof. Nilakanta Sastri's "Cōlas" (Chapter III).

Assembly.—The genesis of the popular assemblies mentioned in the State inscriptions of later years is to be traced to the *manṛam* (lit. hall) and *podiyil* (lit. common place) described in the Sangam works. We learn that the *manṛam*, was an assembly which helped the king in the administration of justice and also met for purposes of general consultation. The rural *manṛams* called *podiyils* met under the shade of a tree in the village. Originally they organised the folk dances, and other rural festivities, but later they developed into the village assemblies which, as described in the State inscriptions, largely controlled the rural administration.

Taxation.—The three sources of royal revenue were land-tax, customs and tolls and conquest. The *mā* and the *vēli* (see page 227) were the measures of land. It is not known what share the king took of the produce. The literature of the age depicts a happy and contented peasantry.

The *Paṭṭinappalai* describes the activities of customs officials; and customs must have contributed largely to the treasury.

Foreign trade.—The *Paṭṭinappalai* gives an account of the foreign trade of South India. "Large quantities of Roman coins found in the interior of the Tamil land attest the extent of trade, the presence of Roman settlers in the Tamil country and the periods of the rise and decay of this active commerce. Casual statements made by the classical authors, and more decidedly, the evidence of the early Chinese annals prove that along the sea route from the Far-East to the West, India acted as an intermediary for many generations."* Rome, before the reign of Augustus, got from India various articles of luxury. Augustus received frequent embassies from the Pāṇḍya, Cōla and Cēra kings. But Indo-Roman trade had its maximum development in the reigns of the Julii and Claudii, and though

* Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: 'Cōlas'—pp. 100-1 quoting Thurston: 'Coins' (Madras Museum) Second Edition, 1894 and Warrington: "The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India" (Cambridge 1928).

there was trade by land, the main trade route was maritime via Egypt and Arabia. This trade was paid for by Rome in gold and silver, and according to Pliny a hundred million sesterces (about £ 1,087,500) flowed annually to India and the East. After the discovery of the monsoons by Hipparchus, direct trade was established between Rome and South India and the route no longer passed through Arabia.

Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar* gives a long list of articles that were exported to Rome and the West from South India. From the territory forming the modern State of Pudukkóttai cotton and gingelly-oil may have been sent.

There were colonies of Roman merchants on the east coast which is not far from Pudukkóttai. The author of the *Periplus* says that the Roman merchants exported beautiful maidens for the harems of Indian kings.† South India also formed a link in the trade between China and the West. The carrying trade between the Malay Peninsula and the Eastern Archipelago and the West was in the hands of the Tamils.

That Pudukkóttai had a share in the trade which proved so profitable to the Tamils may be inferred from the discovery of a hoard of gold coins at Karukkàkurichi in 1898, which was presented by His Highness the late Raja to the British Museum. In his account of these "Roman Aurei from Pudukota," Mr. S. F. Hill gives the following description of the finds. "They are unfortunately without exception in bad condition, having evidently been in circulation a long time before they were buried. In addition to this, more than 90 per cent of them have been deliberately defaced with a file or chisel. . . . Various explanations suggest themselves. One, that the incisions were made to test the genuineness of the coins, is disproved; for without exception it is the head that is defaced, and had the object been merely to test the metal, a stab in any other part of the coin would have served the purpose; and out of

* The History of the Tamils, Ch. XIV.

† Quoted by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: 'Cólas' p. 100.

the heads on 461 coins some at least would have escaped It only remains therefore, to suppose that the coins were defaced by political authority, as being too much worn for further circulation, and were awaiting the melting pot, when the secret of their concealment was lost."

The following is Mr. Hill's list of the Karukkàkurichi finds:—

No.	Name of the Emperor, etc.	No. in the hoard.
1.	Augustus Cæsar (B. C. 29 to A. D. 14).	... 40
2.	Tiberius Cæsar (A. D. 14 to 37).	... 163
	Tiberius and Augustus.	... 6
3.	Nero Drusus (B. C. 38 to A. D. 9).	... 11
4.	Antonia, wife of Drusus.	... 15
5.	Germanicus and Caligula.	... 8
6.	Agrippa, wife of Germanicus.	... 1
7.	Caligula (A. D. 37—41).	... 5
8.	T. Claudius (A. D. 41—50).	... 89
	Claudius and Nero.	... 5
9.	Agrippa and Claudius.	... 22
	Agrippa and Nero.	... 10
10.	Nero (A. D. 54—68).	... 123
11.	Vespasianus (A. D. 69—79).	... 3
		<hr/> 501 <hr/>

Of these 461 were found defaced.

Agriculture and Industry.—The chief industry then, as now, was agriculture, and its vital importance is a favourite theme of the poets. Women of the lower classes helped in the field. The bulk of the land was owned by the Vellàlars who then occupied a high social rank. The rich Vellàla landowners held high posts in the civil and military departments of the State and were honoured with the titles of *vēl* and *araṣu* by the Cōla kings and that of *kāvidi* * by the Pāṇḍyas. These Vellàla nobles shared with the king the honours of war and chase, and it was their families that provided brides for princes and chiefs.

* Eg. Kāvidi Iten (Śittannavāsāl Brāhmi inscription discussed above).

The poorer Vellālas were not hired labourers, but mostly tilled their own lands. In the next section we shall trace the origin of the Vellāla families and villages which have for centuries contributed to the prosperity of the State.

Spinning and weaving of cotton and silk were the chief industries. Delicate fabrics with complex patterns were woven.

Barter.—Much of the internal trade was carried on by barter. Paddy was the common medium of exchange, and coins were rarely used in internal trade in villages.

The army.—The Pāṇḍya and Cōla kings equipped a strong army of professional soldiers. The commanders bore the title of *ēnddi** which was formally conferred on them at a ceremonial investiture. Soldiers who fell in battle had stones erected to their memory bearing their names and exploits—a custom which survived in the State till recently.

Kings took the field in person and fought alongside of the common militia. If the king was killed or was even seriously wounded, his followers gave up the fray and admitted defeat. To the king in those days nothing was more glorious than a warrior's death in action.

We find in the Sangam works frequent references to the horse, the elephant and war chariot, the sword, lance and bow and the war drum. The foot soldier and the horseman wore leather sandals. The nobles and princes rode on elephants and the generals of rank drove in pennoned chariots. Elephants often carried flags in the battlefield.

Arts and letters.—The kings patronised the arts and lavished gifts on bards. The poets resided in the palaces of kings and chiefs, sharing the royal board and pastimes. There were also itinerant minstrels who delighted people with their songs and dances.

* *Ēnddi* or *Ēndīppatti* is a village near Ponnamarāvati. It may have been the home of a distinguished military leader.

The *Śilappadikāram* (Canto III) depicts the high perfection attained by music and dancing, and gives a complete account of the technique of the theatre and the dance, and of the musical instruments among which the *viṇai* and the *yāl* (harp) had the place of honour.

In art and letters we observe in the Sangam age a blending of the old Tamil and the newly spreading Sanskrit cultures. For a full discussion of this subject, the reader is referred to Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar's "History of the Tamils."

Religion, etc.—In the field of religion, the impact of what may conveniently be described as 'Aryan' ideas on Tamil thought and culture in the Sangam age is very marked. The Sangam literature is permeated by the same mythology, legends, ethical codes and practices as the Sanskrit works. The *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* reproduce, for example, the exploits of Śiva, the Purāṇic story of Śibi, the Rāma and Kṛṣṇa legends, and the stories of the Mahābhārata. The pantheon included alike the gods of the Tamils and those of the 'Aryans'; so eclectic was it that it included the Tṛimūrti of the Védic pantheon and the minor gods worshipped under trees or at crossroads. Murugan and Kṛṣṇa (Māyōṇ) and his brother Balarāma (Veḷḷayan) were favourites. Indra was honoured by an annual festival.

Védic sacrifices were common. The daily worship of fire, and the life of a Vaidīk Śrōtriya who follows the injunctions laid down in the Védic ritualistic code, are extolled in the poems. Merchants and other non-Brāhmins performed marriages according to the Védic ritual. The poems mention Pāṇḍya kings who performed Védic sacrifices; Perunarkilḷi, the Cōla king, performed *Rājastūya* (see above) which won for him the title *Rajastūyamvēṭṭa Perunarkilḷi*.

Side by side with the Védic rituals there were the folk dances accompanied with music (*Korṇavai*). Kṛṣṇa (Kaṇṇan) was worshipped with dance and music by shepherdesses, and Murugan by Kuṇavas (Cf. *Puṇam* 22 and 396 and *Aham* 118 and 232).

The later works of the age, especially the poems of Poygaiyār, describe the beginnings of the *bhakti* cult that reached its culmination between the 7th and 10th centuries.

The Sangam works describe many of the superstitions and religious customs mentioned in Chapter III as still prevailing in the State. Self-immolation by widows was not enforced though it was applauded.

Buddhists and Jains.—*Aham* 181 mentions “those who strayed from the path of the Védas.” “In all important centres in the Tamil country,” says Prof. Nilakanta Sàstri, “there were Jaina temples and Buddhist Caityas and monasteries in which Buddhist and Jaina monks lived and preached their tenets to those who cared to listen.” But the Buddhist and Jaina monks lived mostly in natural caves in the Pàṇḍya and Céra nàḍus where they have left inscriptions. It is often difficult to say whether a particular cave was resorted to by Jainas or Buddhists. Some of the natural caverns in the State may have served as the cells of Buddhist monks, but we have not so far come across any evidence of Buddhist activities in the State. There are clear indications that the Jains occupied natural caverns at Śittappa-vāḍai, Ténimali, Nàrttāmali, and Āluruṭṭimalai. The Buddhist and Jain monks of this age had no great eagerness either to save souls or to establish the superiority of their dogmas over those of other sects, but lived in peace with the Hindus. It was only after about the fifth century, that the Buddhist and Jain monks formed their *sangas* or councils, became aggressive and sought to secure royal patronage in order to overthrow the rival sects.

The Kalabhra interregnum:—Sangam literature takes us to the end of the third century A. D. or the beginning of the fourth. From the fourth to about the last quarter of the sixth century is the ‘dark age’ in South Indian History. There came on the scene a ‘military tribe’ known as the Kalabhras who overran the Pàṇḍya country and broke up the Cōla kingdom. What little we know of the Kalabhras is learnt from the Vélvikkudi grant of the Pàṇḍyas and some Pallava charters.

Literary tradition and the writings of the Buddhist monk Buddhadatta tell us of an Accuta Kalabhra who kept the three Tamil kings, Céra, Coḷa and Pàṇḍya, in confinement. Some time after this Accuta's rule, how long after we cannot say exactly, the Pallavas and the Pàṇḍyas overthrew the interlopers, and the first Pàṇḍya empire founded by Kaḍungón (590 A. D.) and the Pallava line of rulers headed by Simhaviṣṇu (575 A. D.) came into importance. The Cólas remained in obscurity for some centuries longer, except for some chieftains ruling in Kodumbàlúr, Shiyàli, Malépàdu and other places. They regained their importance in the ninth century under Vijayàlaya (850 A. D.), the founder of the dynasty popularly known after him.

SECTION II.—SETTLEMENTS OF CASTES AND TRIBES.

The Veduvars.—The jungles of the State were originally the abode of the Véduvars (hunters). These people are believed to have been one of the Nàga tribes, and the most lawless of them all. Cattle-lifting, pillage and murder were their sole occupations. Véduvars are still found on the Pirànmalai hill. The State inscriptions* refer to certain chieftains known as *Niṣadaràyaṇs* who in the medieval times held sway over Pirànmalai and its vicinity, and hence were given the appellation *Tirukkoḍuṅkunṇamudayaṇs* (chiefs of Tirukkoḍuṅkunṇam or Pirànmalai) with Ponnamaràvati as their capital. The Sanskrit word *Niṣada* means a hunter. Max Muller refers to the *Niṣadas* living in the inhospitable regions around the Vindhyan hills by the term *Mundāri*. The Niṣadaràyaṇs of Ponnamaràvati were among the surviving Véduvars in this part of India.

The Kurumbars.—The Kurumbars are believed to have been the earliest settlers in the State, and to have supplanted the Véduvars. The Kurumbars were a section of the ancient pastoral people inhabiting the land known as *Kuriñji tinai*. They tended the short-legged and well-fleeced variety of sheep called *kuṛumbādu*.

In the Sangam age, the Kurumbars are known to have inhabited Tondaimaṇḍalam (the country round Kāñcīpuram) also known as Aruvàṇāḍu, the land of the Aruvàlars (=Kurumbars?). There is the tradition, preserved in General Colin Mackenzie's collection of manuscripts, that a Tondaimaṇ Cakravarti won Tondaimaṇḍalam after conquering a rude and uncivilised tribe known as the Kurumbars, and an Āḍoṇḍai

* P. S. I.—Nos. 131—34, 136, 147, 148, 150, 161, 168, 174, 179, 213, 244, 5 and 342.

Cóla civilised them. Mr. Gopalan, in his book on the Pallavas assumes that the Cóla king Karikàla (or his general Tonḍaimàn Iḷantiraiyan) got back the territory from the Āndhra Sātavāhanas, and that Tonḍaimàn Iḷantiraiyan was his viceroy. He says that "according to the Mackenzie manuscripts one of the achievements of Ādondai Cóla by whom probably we are to understand Tonḍaimàn Iḷantiraiyan, is the uprooting of the Kuṟumbars." It is probable that the Kuṟumbars now living in the State drifted gradually from Tonḍaimaṇḍalam to the south.

The region of Tamiḷakam in which our State lies was called Panṟinaḍu (land of the pigs) after it was peopled by the Kuṟumbars. The *Nannūl* tells us that Panṟinaḍu lay to the south of Aruvānādu.*

Vēmbāttūrar Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purānam, a Tamil classic, (chapters 58 and 59) has the following legend. "In the land of forests there was a Vaṇṇiya chief who had twelve sons, who on account of their misdeeds were re-born as pigs, but were brought up in the Panṟimalai country by Sundarésvara, the god worshipped at Madura. When they grew up, these twelve pigs became 'the twelve Panṟikuṟumbars'." Panṟinaḍu therefore may be taken to mean the land of the Kuṟumbars. Panṟimalai (Varāhamalai) is a name for the Palnis, and the association of Panṟimalai with the Kuṟumbars may show that some of the Kanarese-speaking Kuṟumbars came direct into the State from the Kanarese country by way of Palni, while one branch of them went to the east, settled in Tonḍaimaṇḍalam, and later emigrated to the south.

Kuṟumbars are still found in the State, for example at Śellukuḍi and Araṇippaṭṭi. They weave rough *cumbles* or woollen blankets.

The Maravars.—These were originally a fierce war-like people who lived from ancient times in the barren and thinly

* *Nannul—Viruttūrai* 273—*பாண்டிநாடு அருவானாடு*.

wooded regions to the south of the State. They are found mostly in the Ramnad and Madura districts. The land that they inhabited is called in old Tamil *Pālai* (desert land). They were good hunters and warriors; Maṛava means a warrior or hero. "Of strong limbs and hardy frames, fierce-looking like tigers, and wearing long and curled locks of hair, the blood-thirsty Maṛavars, armed with leather-stringed bows shoot at poor and helpless travellers.....The furious Maṛavars, whose curled beards resemble the twisted horns of the stag, with the loud twang of their powerful bow-strings and the sound of their war drums put even kings at the head of large armies to flight." *

The Maṛavars appear to have settled in the State during historic times if we may credit traditions known to us from manuscripts preserved in certain Vellāḷa families. One account says that the Maṛavars dwelt in the Rājéndramaṅgala Nāḍu (the Ramnad Zamīpdāri), and migrated thence and settled in the Pudukkóttai State because the ruler of the Nāḍu wanted to marry a Maṛava girl. †

The settlement of the Maṛavars within the State was mainly due to the quarrels between the Vellāḷars of Kānāḍu and those of Kōnāḍu. According to certain palm-leaf manuscripts, 500 Maṛavar families from Rājéndramaṅgala Nāḍu, 300 from Uñjanūr and Sembumārināḍu, and 700 from Maṅgalaṇāḍu were imported by different sections of Vellāḷars to protect them, and settled in the southern and western parts of the State. During Nāyak times about 200 families of Mānāmadurai Maṛavars were brought into the State by Nétirāja Pāṇḍyan, Tipparāzu Nāyak, Cinnapeddu Nāyak and Periyapeddu Nāyak to fight against Ponnamaran, who is incorrectly called founder of Ponnamarāpati

* *Kalittogai*.

† Maṛava brides were much sought after by kings, and *maṛam* is the name given to a special class of *Kalampakam* (verse) dealing with the refusal of Maṛavars to give their daughters as brides to kings.

(Ponnamarāvati), after whose defeat the Maṛavas built a fort called Maṛavarmadurai (modern Maravāmadurai). The people of Idaiyārūr, Kàraiūr and other villages granted lands to the Maṛavars in order to secure their protection.

These Maṛava warriors are referred to in the State inscriptions as *Maṛamudalis*, and were formed into battalions called *Maṛappaḍai*.

The Kallars:—The Kallars also seem to have come into the State in historic times. Unlike the Maṛavars they were not invited to settle in the State by people who desired their protection, but came as invaders, settled down and took sides in the local quarrels among the Vellāḷars. The Kallars are mentioned in the Sangam classics as a fearless people who lived originally in the northernmost borders of the Tamil country about Tiruvēnkaḍam (modern Tirupati), and as far south as Kāñci (Conjeevaram) in Tondaimaṇḍalam. They are described in the *Ahaṇḍūru** as a tribe who captured elephants and bartered their tusks through other mountaineers for grain. The Sangam works refer to a number of chiefs of Vēnkaḍam, the earliest of whom is a Tiraiyan of Pavattiri, while Pulli is frequently mentioned. The tribe over whom they ruled, were called *Kaḷavar* (Kaḷvar). According to Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar, they were driven out of their original home about the third century A. D. by the Pallava viceroys of the Āndhra empire of the Śātavāhana dynasty, and their southward movement in turn caused the “Kaḷabhra interregnum”, a period of disorder, which ultimately brought about the temporary decline of the Tamil kingdoms,—Tonḍaimaṇḍalam, Cōla Nāḍu, and Pāṇḍi Nāḍu. “Their migration.....ultimately overturned the Tonḍaimaṇḍalam first, Cōlamaṇḍalam next and a considerable part of the Pāṇḍyamaṇḍalam after that.” Since very little is known of the Kaḷabhras, their identification with the Kaḷavars is more or less conjectural.

* *Ahaṇḍūru*. poems 62, 83, 209, 311, 159, 342 and 393.

These Kallars seem first to have settled in the north-eastern corner of the State, and as far south as Kunṇaṇḍārkóvil. They then gradually spread southwards and westwards, and became powerful.

At first they seem to have bound themselves to minor local chieftains by either matrimonial or political ties. For instance, we hear of *Náráyaṇappér Araṣu Makkaḷ*, or those related to the chieftain Nárayaṇa. They began as *paḍaittalaiivar* (military leaders) or *tantrimár* (strategists or diplomatists) and ultimately became *kartars* (governors). They were given grants of lands for watching temples and the houses of the wealthy, and it was thus that they came to settle in Kalasamaṅgalam (the eastern part of the modern town of Pudukkóttai) and Vaḍavālam. A Vāṇādirāyar of Kāṇāḍu often employed them to fight against the Kōṇāḍu Vellālars, and as compensation for those of their men who fell they received grants of land (*paḷikkāṇi*). Thus they secured a number of villages in the State.

The present line of Tondaimān rulers belong to the Ambunāḍu section of Kallars, and claim * descent from Kalla Tirumaṅgai Ālvār, the Vaiṣṇava saint of Ālināḍu in the Cōla country, who is believed to have lived in the 8th century A. D. as a contemporary of king Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

The Vellalars:—The *Śilappadikāram* speaks of 'the old flourishing villages peopled by men who by their tillage relieved the wants of beggars and contributed to the prosperity of the kings.' *Puṇam* (24) refers to a Vellāla chieftain who ruled over parts of the Miḷalai and Muttúrrukkúrrams (the south-eastern and eastern parts of the State and the contiguous parts of the Tanjore district). The commentary on *Tolkāppiyam*, the oldest Tamil grammar, states that Agastya, the first Brāhmin to settle in the south of India, brought with him eighteen sections of Vellālars. The Vellālars were therefore in the Tamil land before the Christian era.

* Ammāchatram, copper-plate grant of Rāmaswāmi Tondaimān (to be discussed later).

In addition to the south-eastern parts of the State, Koḍumbālūr and the surrounding villages were also the homes of the Vellālars even in the Sangam age. We have accounts of further immigration and settlements up to at least the seventh and eighth centuries A. D. One such settlement in the State is described in the Tékkàṭṭūr palm-leaf manuscript thus. "Āḍonḍaicakravarti brought these Vellālars with him (from Conjeevaram) into the Cōla territory, and Ugra Peru Vaḷudi, the Pāṇḍya king, selected 48,000 good families and imported them from east Conjeevaram and settled them in Pāṇḍya land. The Cōlanāḍu territory occupied by the Vellālars was called Kōnāḍu or the land of the king, and the Pāṇḍya territory, Kānāḍu or forest land. The former extended from Uraiṭṭūr near Trichinopoly to Śōlavandān in the Madura district, and included Pirānmalai, Ponnamarāvati, Kārāiyūr, Oliyamaṅgalam, Annavaśal and Vayalōgam. It formed five-eighths of the area occupied by the Vellālars, and Kānāḍu three-eighths. The latter lay to the south and east of Kōnāḍu, and extended as far south as Toṇḍi and Kālāiyārkōvil. It thus included the whole of the present Ālaṅguḍi Taluk and the part of the Tirumayam Taluk east of Virāchilai.

The Vellālars apparently expelled the Kuṟumbar from the fertile regions. The State manuscripts call them *nilattarasu* (rulers of the soil). They seem to have been practically independent save for the general control of the Pāṇḍya or Cōla king. We have already mentioned (page 537) how the Vellāla nobles married their daughters to princes and enjoyed special privileges at court.

The Kārāla Vellālars were skilful agriculturists; they cleared jungles, brought the land thus cleared under the plough, built dams and anicuts, excavated tanks, and channels by which they could be fed from rivers, and dug many wells. They had the faculty amounting almost to an instinct of discovering

underground springs, and were thus able to dig wells giving an unfailing supply of water. These wells are to be seen even to this day.

Old copper-plates found in the State mention the following Kàràla Vellàlar settlements:—Tékkàttúr, Kàraiyr, Viràchilai, Ponnamaràvati, Oliyamaṅgalam, Idaiyàrrúr, Péraiyr, Arimalam and Vàlaramàpikkam in Tirumayam Taluk, Annavàsal, Kíranúr, Vayalógam, Kunnàṇḍàrkóvil and Vísēṅginàḍu in Koḷattúr Taluk, and Peruṅgalúr, Mullúr, Tiruvaraṅkulam, Kulavàippaṭṭi, Ambilnàdu and Kattakkurichi in Àlangudi Taluk. Traces of forts built by the Vellàlars are to be found at Koḍumbàlúr and elsewhere in the State.

The Vellàlars were staunch Śaivites. They granted rent-free lands to Brāhmins and endowed many temples, for example those at Tiruvaraṅkulam, Kuḍumiàmalai, Kunnàṇḍàrkóvil, Vadavàlam and Kalasamaṅgalam.

When the Vellàlars were at the height of their prosperity, Kónàdu was divided into three kúṛrams, Uraiyr, Ollaiyr and Urattúr, subdivided into 64 nàḍus containing altogether 756 villages. 212 temples enjoyed grants of land and 21 villages had been given to Brāhmins. The part of Kànàdu lying within the State included two kúṛrams, Atalai and Miḷalai. Atalai kúṛram comprised 24 nàḍus containing 108 villages, in which 16 grants of land had been made to temples or Brāhmins.

Disputes among the Vellàlars. The Kàràla Vellàlars of Kànàdu seem to have lived for a long time in peace and affluence. Disputes arose between them and the Kónàḍu Vellàlars in connection with lands, temples, tanks, 'temple-honours' and the right to the use of the water of the Vellàr. The fights between the two sections of the Vellàlars not only weakened the Vellàlars themselves, but also led to the settlement of Maṛavars and Kaḷlars in their country.

"The Eighteen castes." When the Vellàlars settled in the State, the "eighteen castes", that are associated with them in

Tamil classics as their dependents, accompanied them. These castes are the following:—

1. Barbers,
2. Potters,
3. Washermen,
4. *Occans* (scribes and accountants),
5. Blacksmiths,
6. Goldsmiths,
7. Braziers,
8. Carpenters,
9. Masons,
10. *Oṟṟai sekkān* (oil-pressers using single bullocks).
11. *Iraṭṭai sekkān* (oil-pressers using two bullocks).
12. Betel-leaf growers,
13. Flower-sellers and Garland-makers,
14. Tailors,
15. *Pallis* or Watchmen,
16. *Valaiyars* (or fishermen),
17. Shepherds,
- and 18. Bards,

forming the five classes of
Kammālars,

forming the three
classes of *Vāṇiyans*.

As a rule these were paid for their services in kind immediately after the harvest, and occasionally they were fed in the houses of the Vellāḷars.

The Chettiyars.—The Nāṭṭukkóṭṭai Chettiyars are said to have come from Kàvérippaṭṭanam. They were patronised by the Cōḷa Kings and enjoyed the privilege of placing the crown on the king's head at the time of the coronation. An old legend* relates that a Cōḷa king had designs on the modesty of a Chettiyar maiden, and that the Chettiyars therefore left the Cōḷa land in a body, and settled to the south of the Vellār, the southern boundary of the kingdom, and vowed never to

* *Nagarattār Kuḷavai Nāṭakam.*

allow their women to cross the Vellār into Cōla territory. According to Mr. Thurston, "a Pāṇḍya king, named Sundara Pāṇḍya, is said to have asked the Cōla king to induce some of the Vaiśyas in his land to settle down in the Pāṇḍya territory and allowed them to settle in the tract of country north of the river Vaigai, east of the Pirāṇmalai and south of the Vellār." Another class of money-lending Chettiyārs, from whom the modern Valnāḍ Chettiyārs are descended, settled at Kalāśa-maṅgalam (modern Pudukkóttai), Valnāḍ, Nambukuḷi and other places.

The Buddhists and the Jains.—See Section I (page 540).

The Brahmins.—There were a large number of Brāhmin families in the State before the fifteenth century, of whom .1 traces appear to have now been lost. Only a few families in the State can claim to have lived there for more than about two-hundred years.* The Kārāḷa Vellālārs brought with them a number of Brāhmins, or at least permitted many Brāhmins to settle, and granted many villages to them rent-free. To serve in the temples built by the Cōla Kings and others, temple priests of both the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava sects, and also lay Brāhmins, were imported. It is clear that there must have been a fair proportion of Brāhmins in the State before the fifteenth century, especially where there were temples. How these families came to disappear will be explained later on.

* It may be that there are a few families of temple priests, village-accountants and palace *purohīts* that have been here for more than two hundred years.

SECTION III.—FROM THE SEVENTH TO THE CLOSE OF THE NINTH CENTURY.

The seventh to ninth centuries A. D., mark the ascendancy of the Pàṇḍyas who extended their conquests much beyond their traditional boundary of the Vellār, far into the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts and as far north as Koṅgunàḍu in the modern Coimbatore and Salem districts. The Pallavas of Kāñcīpuram were also expanding and extending their conquests as far south as modern Pudukkóṭṭai State. The two powers often came into conflict. Parts of Pudukkóṭṭai were under local chieftains who ruled either independently or as vassals of the Pallavas or Pàṇḍyas.

THE FIRST PANDYA EMPIRE (590 to 920 A. D.).

KADUṆGÓN AND MÁRAVARMAN AVANISÚLÁMANI (C. 590 to 645 A. D.).

Kadungón.—(C. 590 to 620 A. D.)* and his son *Márvaraman Avanisúlámani* (C. 620 to 645 A. D.) put an end to the "Kalabhra interregnum" and established a new Pàṇḍya dynasty.

SÉNDAN (C. 645 to 670 A. D.).

Séndan or *Jayantavarman* was a strong and wise ruler who was successful in his campaigns against the Céra king.

ARIKÉSARI MÁRAVARMAN (C. 670 to 710 A. D.).

Arikésari Márvaraman or *Arikésari Paráñkuṣa Nedumáran* fought against the Pallavas, defeated the Paravar tribes of the South, conquered Kuṟunàḍu and defeated the Céra King. He was the first to expand Pàṇḍya rule beyond its traditional limits. This king is identified with the celebrated Kún Pàṇḍyan of the *Periyapurānam*. He was at first a Jain, but was converted to Saivism by the Saint Tirugñāna Sambandar who was invited to Madura by Maṅgayarkkarāṣi, the Cōla queen of Márvaraman, and Kulaccirai Nāyanār, his minister.

* The dates assigned to the Pàṇḍya kings are those given by Mr. K. A. N. Sastri, Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, Madras University.

KÓCCADAIYAN RAṆADHĪRA (C. 710 to 740 A. D.).

Kóccadaiyan Raṇadhira or *Śadaiyan Máyan* assumed the titles of Vānavan, Śembiyan and Colan which imply that he was supreme over the Céra and Cōla countries. He defeated the Maharattas at Mangalore. P. S. I. 238 dated in his 9th (?) year records that he made a gift of gold to maintain an "ever-burning" lamp in the Mélaikkóvil at Kuḍumiyāmalai and to celebrate a festival of seven days.

MÁRAYARMAN RĀJASIMHA (C. 740 to 765 A. D.).

Mārayarman Rājasimha claimed to have defeated Nandivarman Pallavamalla in a number of battles, one of which was fought at Koḍumbālūr. His incursions extended to the Koṅgu country. He subjugated Maḷakoṅgam, the land on the border of Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts, which probably included part of the present Pudukkóttai State, and married a Maḷava princess. He performed many Gósaahasras*, Hiraṇyagarbhas and Tulābhāras and patronised learned Brāhmins.

MĀRAṆJADAIYAN or **NEDUṆJADAIYAN** (C. 765 to 815 A. D.).

Māraṇjadaiyan or *Neduṇjadaiyan* otherwise known as *Jaiḷa*, *Parāntaka*, or *Varaṇa Mahārāja* defeated the Pallavas on the south bank of the Kāvéri. He annexed Koṅgunāḍu. He was unquestionably the most powerful ruler of the dynasty, and his sway extended from Vēnāḍu or South Travancore which he conquered, as far as the modern Coimbatore and Salem districts. There are two inscriptions (P. S. I. 239 and 240) of the 17th and 23rd years of his reign relating to gifts of gold to temples, one in the Gókarṇéśvara temple of Tirugókarṇam, and the other in Mélaikkóvil at Kuḍumiyāmalai. An inscription in the Nīrpaḷani temple in the Koḷattūr Taluk (P. S. I. 241) records

* *Gósaahasra* = gift of a thousand cows; *Hiraṇyagarbha* = ceremony of passing through a golden cow, which is believed to be equivalent to a second birth and so to bestow Brāhman-hood on a Kṣatriya (Tamil Lexicon). This ceremony is still performed by the Mahārājas of Travancore. *Tulābhāra* = ceremony of weighing a king against gold, which is then distributed among Brāhmins. (Tamil Lexicon.)

gifts of gold to the temple by several persons one of whom was *Tambirāṭṭiyār*, probably the queen of (Varaguṇa?)-pati Nāyanār, intended to secure merit for Māraṇ Tiriyan. The gifts mentioned in these inscriptions of the reigns of Saḍayan Māraṇ (see above) and Māraṇ Saḍayan were placed in the hands of the *nāṭṭārs* who were entrusted with the duty of seeing to the proper maintenance of the charities.

ŚRI MĀRA ŚRI VALLABHA (C. 816 to 862 A. D.).

Śri Māra Śri Vallabha extended his conquests as far as Ceylon, and broke up a confederation of Gaṅgas, Pallavas, Cōlas, Kaliṅgas and Magadhas at the battle of Kumbakōnam. His sanguinary wars with the Pallava kings Nandivarman III and Nṛpatuṅga contributed to the decadence of the Pāṇḍya empire.

VARAGUṆAVARMAN (C. 862 to 880 A. D.).

The Pallava Nṛpatuṅga, and after him his son Aparājitā, were on friendly terms with Vijayālaya Cōla, who captured Tanjore during Varaguṇa's reign. Varaguṇa staked his all in a final endeavour to break up this alliance, and to recover the sovereignty of the Cōlamāṇḍalam and Tondaimāṇḍalam. His initial success at Iḍavai enabled him to carry his arms further north. The Pallava king aided by his Gaṅga feudatory and the Cōla Āditya I, the son of Vijayālaya Cōla, defeated Varaguṇa at Śri Puṛambiyam or Tiruppuṛambiyam, near Kumbakōnam. Varaguṇa did not long survive this defeat.

ŚRI PARĀNTANTAKA AND RĀJASIMHA II (C. 880 to 920 A. D.).

Śri Parāntantaka also known as *Viranārdyaṇa* (C. 880-900 A. D.) and *Māraṇvarman Rājasimha II* (C. 900 to 920 A. D.) were the last kings of this line. Viranārdyaṇa fought with the Cōla kings of Tanjore. He made a large number of endowments to Jaina temples and monasteries, built streets for Brāhmins and excavated many tanks. Rājasimha II had to meet the rising Cōla power of Tanjore under Āditya I and Parāntaka I, and was obliged to turn to Ceylon for help. The Cōla Parāntaka I

won a decisive victory at Vélúr over the Pàṇḍya and Ceylon forces. Madura was captured and Ràjasimha fled to Ceylon, and after making frantic efforts to restore his fortunes fled to the Kéraḷa country, the home of his mother Vānavan Mahàdévi. This brought about the end of the first Pàṇḍya empire.

THE PALLAVAS.

There are different theories about the origin of the Pallavas, but the scope of this work does not permit us to discuss them. The history of the Pallavas including those mentioned in the Prākṛt and Sanskrit records up to about the last quarter of the sixth century does not directly concern us.

SIMHAVIṢṆU (C. 575 to 600 A. D.).

The accession of *Simhaviṣṇu*, also known as *Avanisimha*, (C. 575 to 600 A. D.) to the Pallava throne of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam marks a new epoch in the history of the Pallavas. From this time begins the Pallava expansion further south. Simhaviṣṇu extended his territory as far as the delta of the Kàvéri.

MAHÉNDRAVARMAN I (C. 600 to 630 A. D.).

Mahéndravarman or *Mahéndravikrama* was a remarkable personality in the history of Southern India. His great rival was the Cālukya Pulakési II who had become master of Veṅgi. The conflict between the Pallavas and Pàṇḍyas described above in this section began in this reign, and was continued during those of Mahéndra's successors. From the presence of cave temples in places in South India so far apart as Vallam in the Chingleput district and Mahéndravāḍi in North Arcot and Sittannavāśal in Pudukkóṭṭai State, we may infer how widely Mahéndravarman had spread Pallava influence and authority.

Mahéndravarman was not eminent for his military exploits alone. Two of his titles are significant. *Cēttakāri* or *Caityakāri* means 'temple builder' and *Vicitracitta* means 'inventive or versatile.' These refer to the cave-temples that he had excavated in various parts of the country under his sway.

Before his time, temples were built of perishable material so that no traces of them remain. Mahéndra is said to have been the first to cut shrines out of the solid rock. *

According to Mr. Longhurst, the monuments of the Mahéndra style "are subterranean rock-cut excavations known as cave-temples. They have but one external facade which is in the face of the rock. On plan, the temple consists of a rectangular pillared hall with a small square shrine chamber excavated in one of the side walls. As a rule the shrine faces the east or the west.....The *lingas* were large and cylindrical in shape, highly polished and mounted on *yóni* pedestals of the usual kind. The shrine chamber is free from all ornament within, but usually has a *dvārapāla*, or door-keeper, carved in high relief standing on each side of the entrance into the sanctum. The external ends of the facade are also often provided with figures of door-keepers, one at each end protecting the outer entrance. Some of these figures are very large and have a characteristic pose which is somewhat different to that of the door-keepers of the later periods. They generally stand facing the spectator, in rather an aggressive attitude with one hand resting on a huge club. Others have one hand raised to the head in the act of adoration.

"A very characteristic feature of temples in this style is the type of pillar found in them. These are about two feet square in section and about seven feet in height. The upper and lower portions are cubical, while the middle portions of the shaft has angles bevelled off, which makes the middle third octagonal in section. Sometimes the cubical portions are decorated with a conventional lotus flower design similar to the lotus medallions

* See his cave-temple inscription at Maṇḍagappaṭṭu in the S. Arcot District :—

Étaḍ—aniṣṭakamaḍṛumamaḷóhamasudhám Vicitracittēna

Nirmāpitan—nṛpēṇa—Brahmēśvara—Viṣṇu lakṣīyatanam |

This is the temple that king Vicitracitta, the versatile, built for the Tṛimūrti—Brahma, Íśvara and Viṣṇu, without bricks, timber, metals, or mortar.

appearing on the stone rails of the Amarāvati *stūpa*. The capitals of the pillars are simple corbels or brackets supporting the architrave above. The lower or underside of the bracket is rounded upwards and sometimes decorated with horizontal rows of roll ornament. Each pillar has a corresponding side pilaster.

“The cornice of the facade and that over the shrine doorway when decorated, usually takes the form of a heavy projecting convex moulding decorated with the Buddhist gable and window ornament. This ornament simulates a miniature barrel-vaulted roof decorated with little horse-shoe-shaped gable windows. Human heads are portrayed peering through the windows and the gables have large flat-headed finials shaped like garden spades.....

• • • • •

“The floor of the temple is usually raised a few feet above the natural ground level and approached by a flight of rock-cut steps.....”

The date C. 610 to 640 A. D. assigned to this style applies chiefly to the country lying immediately round Kāñcīpuram. Further south it persisted much later than 640 A. D. Some cave temples of this style in Pudukkóttai must be assigned to a later date. As Mr. Longhurst himself observes, Pallava architecture was influenced by the neighbouring cultures of the Pāṇḍyas and the Cōlas. There are cave-temples of this style at Śittannavāsai, Tirugókarnam, and Tirumayam.

That Mahéndravarman deserved the title of *Citrakārapuli*, ‘supreme (lit. tiger) among artists,’ is exemplified by the exquisite paintings at Śittannavāsai which owe their inspiration to him. These are described in detail in the Gazetteer. The Māmaṇḍūr inscription also bears witness to his great artistic interests. In line 12 of this inscription, there is a word that may be read either as *Vaṇacaturtha* or as *Vaṇam Candrā-rṇavam*. The former would mean that the king was the



inventor of a fourth colour, and the latter that he was the author of a process of painting which he named *Candrārnavam*. *

Mahéndra bore the *biruda*—*Sanikṛṇajāti*. He was probably the inventor of a method of keeping time in music (*tāla*) which he named *Sanikṛṇajāti*. An inscription on a rock face of the hill at Kuḍumiyāmalai is a treatise on musical notation. The colophon of this inscription reads as follows:—

Śrī Rudrācāryaśiṣyēṇa Paramamahēśvarēṇa rājñā
Siṣya-hitārtham kṛtaḥ svarāgamāḥ.

"Composed for the benefit of students of music by the king, who is a devotee of Mahēśvara or Śiva, and a disciple of Rudrācārya."

The king referred to in the colophon is now believed on paleographical evidence to be Mahēndravarman himself. In the Śiva cave-temple at Tirumayam also there are fragments of an inscription on musical notation, but unfortunately it has been rendered undecipherable by a later inscription engraved over it by a Pāṇḍya king. The parts now legible refer to such terms of Indian music as *Śa(ḍja)*, *gāndhāram* and *dhaiva(ta)* and are in the same characters as the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription. This, as Mr. T. N. Ramachandran observes, justifies our ascribing the Tirumayam inscription also to Mahēndravarman. It is interesting to note that there are four cave-temples, all in the State,—Mēlaikkóvil at Kuḍumiyāmalai, the Śiva cave-temples at Tirumayam and Tirugókarṇam and the eastern cave at Malayakkóvil—on which the word '*Parivādinidd*' is inscribed inside a rectangle in the same characters as the musical inscriptions at Kuḍumiyāmalai and Tirumayam. It is not known definitely what this word means but it is probable that it refers to the production of notes on a *vīṇa*. All these cave-temples are to be attributed to Mahēndravarman's time.

* T. N. Ramachandran: The Royal Artist, Mahēndravarman I, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VII, page 237.

As a poet also Mahéndravarman made his mark. The verses that we find in such abundance in his inscriptions show his mastery both of the different metres in Sanskrit versification and of the *Sūtra* or epigram. Of Mahéndra's farce *Mattavilāsa*, Dr. Barnett observes—"within this loosely jointed frame-work there is much rollicking fun of the knock-about kind, with no small measure of wit and humour. The characters are vigourously drawn Altogether the little play is a remarkably smart production of the *picaresque genre* replete with mirth and satire." According to Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Mahéndravarman is probably the author of another similar burlesque *Bhagavadajjukam*. Those whom the royal dramatist satirizes, though gently, are the Kāpalikas, who were distributed throughout South India and parts of North India, and, according to a later Koḍumbāḷūr inscription, had monasteries in the State, the Jainas who were numerous in the Tamiḷakam generally and particularly in the Pudukkóttai State, the Buddhists who lived chiefly in the North Pallava region and the Pāsūpatas, a class of Śaiva devotees.

According to tradition, Mahéndravarman was at first a Jain, and persecuted members of other sects and amongst them the Saint Appar or Tirumāvukkaraśar. Appar is said to have miraculously survived all the tortures of the Jainas, and this so impressed the Pallava sovereign that he became an ardent devotee of Śiva. His conversion is referred to in the Trichinopoly cave-temple inscription. In spite of his devotion to Śiva, he had a rock-cut temple to Viṣṇu excavated at Mahéndravādi.

NARASIMHAVARMAN I (C. 630 to 660 A. D.).

Narasimhavarman I was also known as *Mahāmalla*. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Cālukyas near his capital Kāñci towards which they had advanced. He then sent an army into the Cālukya country, led by the famous general Śiṛuttanḍar, otherwise known as Parañjōti, one of the Śaiva saints of the *Periyapurāṇam*. Śiṛuttanḍar captured the Cālukya capital

Vatāpi, and earned for the king the title of *Vatāpikonda-Narasimhavarman*. Mahāmalla sent a successful naval and military expedition to Ceylon to help a prince of that country, who when in exile in South India had faithfully served the Pallava, to secure the throne.

Mahāmalla is better known to fame as the originator of a style of architecture used both for cave-temples and for the monolithic free-standing temples commonly known as *rathas*. The "Seven pagodas" or Māmallapuram (Mahābalipuram) *rathas* were begun in his reign and completed in the reigns of his successors, Mahēndravarman II and Parmēsvaravarman.

About the year 640 A. D., Hiuen Tsang the Chinese pilgrim, visited the Pallava capital Kāñci and stayed there a considerable time. In his description of the Tamil country he refers to Molo-kin-chi (Malakūta) which Mr. K. V. Subramania Iyer takes to mean Mīlalaikkūṟam, a division of Pāṇḍyanāḍu.* But Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri† says that this identification is not warranted by literary or epigraphic evidence. Prof. Sastri is right in criticizing Mr. K. V. Subramania Iyer's statement that 'this division covered a large area surrounding Madura,' but he does not adduce any argument to disprove the identification of the Chinese pilgrim's Molo-kin-chi with Mīlalaikkūṟam which, as we learn from the State inscriptions, included the southern portion of the State forming the Kīlānilai firka and the Embal enclave, and the adjacent part of the Tanjore district on the east. The pilgrim says of this country :—"The land and fields are impregnated with salt. The produce of the earth is not abundant. All the valuable products that are collected in the islets are brought into this country. The climate is very hot. The men are dark skinned, firm and impetuous in disposition. They are wholly given to commercial gain." According to Mr. Iyer, the 'valuables' collected in the neighbouring islets,

* K. V. Subramania Iyer: "History of the Ancient Deccan" pp. 115-122.

† K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: "The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom" page 29, foot-note.

were pearls, and the people described are the Kallars and Maravars. Hiuen Tsang did not visit the Pàṇḍya country but only described what he had heard from others about it.

MAHÉNDRAVARMAN II AND PARAMÉŚVARAVARMAN I. (C. 655 to 680 A. D.).

Mahéndravarman II and *Paraméśvaravarman* were the immediate successors of Mahāmalla. In the reign of Paraméśvaravarman the Pallavas and the Cālukyas were again at war with varying fortunes.

NARASIMHAVARMAN II (C. 680 to 710 A. D.) **AND PARAMÉŚVARAVARMAN II** (C. 700 to 710 A. D.).

Narasimhavarman II or *Rājasimha* (C. 680 to 700 A. D.) had a peaceful reign. He was the originator of the Rājasimha style of structural temple architecture, of which an outstanding example is the Kailāsanātha temple of Kāñcipuram, on whose walls are inscribed more than 250 of his *birudas*. His reign was an age of intense literary activity. Daṇḍin, the great Sanskrit writer, flourished at his court. Bhāsa's dramas, recently published by the Travancore Government, are believed to have been enacted at his court. He was succeeded by *Paraméśvaravarman II* (C. 700 to 710 A. D.).

NANDIVARMAN II (C. 710 to 776 A. D.).

Nandivarman II. Pallavamalla—About 710 A. D., there was a dynastic revolution. Nandivarman of a collateral line tracing descent from Bḥmavarman, the brother of Simhaviṣṇu, became king and ruled for about 65 years. The Pallava-Cālukya hostilities were renewed, and Cālukya Vikramāditya II actually occupied Kāñcipuram, which Pallavamalla subsequently recovered. Pallavamalla's next campaign was against the Pàṇḍyas, and the Vélvikūḍi and Śinnamanūr grants mention Pàṇḍya victories at Koḍumbālūr and other places (see under Rājasimha Māravarman, page 552). Pallavamalla was besieged at Nandipura near Kumbakonam, but was relieved by his general Udāyacandra. One other major event of the reign

was the temporary occupation of Kāñcipuram by the Rāstrakūṭa Dantidurga. Nandivarman had many successes in his campaigns against the Gāṅgas.

Nandivarman was an ardent Vaiṣṇavite. The famous Tirumaṅgai Ālvār was contemporary with him. The Viṣṇu temples of Kāñcipuram, such as the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāl and Késava Perumāl temples, were built in his reign, to which the rock-cut Śiva temple of Kunnāṇḍārkóvil also may be assigned. P. S. I. 15 in the Kunnāṇḍārkóvil temple mentions a gift of rice by a chief, probably the viceroy of the province, for feeding people on the Ārdhrā festival day. The inscription is dated the third year of Nandipóttaraiyar, who may have been either Nandivarman II or Nandivarman III. P. S. I. 16 mentions the construction of a stone sluice for a tank near Rāsālipatti.

DANTIVARMAN (C. 775 to 826 A. D.).

In this reign the Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa Mahārāja made considerable inroads into the Pallava empire, and had penetrated as far north into Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam as Araśūr on the bank of the Pennār, but an inscription of the sixteenth year of Dantivarman at Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi in the State shows that the northern part of the State was still under Pallava domination.

NANDIVARMAN III (C. 826 to 849 A. D.).

Nandivarman III inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pāṇḍyas near Tellāru, and this success was followed up by other victories such as those of Paḷayāru, Vellāru, Naḷḷāru and Kurugóḍu. The military exploits of Nandivarman III are celebrated in a Tamil poem entitled *Nandikkalambakam*.

NRPATUṆGAVARMAN (C. 849 to 876 A. D.).

Nṛpatuṅgavarman also won victories over the Pāṇḍyas and defeated them on the banks of the Arichit (Araśalār near Kumbakonam). An inscription of Nṛpatuṅga's seventh year at Nārttāmalai (P. S. I. 19) shows that his empire extended south into the Puḍukkóṭṭai territory in spite of the Pāṇḍya inroads. Its northern limit was Guḍimallam.

APARÁJITAVARMAN (C. 875 to 883 A. D.).*

Aparájitavarman was one of the confederate princes who inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa II at the battle of Śripurambiam (see p. 553).

About the close of the ninth century, the Cōla king Āditya I defeated the Pallava Aparájitavarman and added Tonḍaimaṇḍalam to his dominion. With Aparájita, the main line of the Pallava kings came to an end. According to Prof. K. A. N. Sastri† Aparájita and Nṛpatuṅga ruled conjointly for several years, and Aparájita was overthrown by Āditya two or three years after Nṛpatuṅga had ceased to reign.

Later Pallava Monuments.

An inscription at Kuṇṇāṇḍārkóvil dated the fifth year of Dantivarman's reign (P. S. I. 17) records the digging of a tank by a subordinate of the Muttaraiya chieftain Māripīḍugu. P. S. I. 18 in Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi Śiva cave-temple dated the sixteenth year of Dantivarman's reign records that the temple was excavated by Viḍelaviḍugu Muttaraiyan also called Kuvāvan Sāttan, and the idol consecrated. The God in this temple was named Vāgīśvara, evidently after Appar who was called Tirunāvukkarasār. † P. S. I. 19 at Nārttāmalai dated the seventh year of Nṛpatuṅga's reign mentions that the cave-temple there, called Paḷiyili-Īśvaram, was excavated by Sāttan Paḷiyili son of Viḍelaviḍugu Muttaraiyan, and his son and daughter extended and endowed it. Paḷiyili-Īśvaram must have been excavated in the time of Nandivarman III as shown below (p. 569).

* The chronology of the Pallava kings given in this section is according to Mr. R. Gopalan. Mr. M. S. Sarma (J. O. R. Madras, Vol. IX, p. 219) suggests a revision of the chronology as follows:—

Nandivarman II	727–791 A. D.
Dantivarman	791–841 A. D.
Nandivarman III	841–863 A. D.
Nṛpatuṅga	863–888 A. D.

† J. O. R. Madras XII, ii, p. 219. "Śri Puṇambiyam"

‡ The Tamil words *Nāvu* and *Arasār* bear the same meaning as the Sanskrit *Vāk* and *Īśvara*. The combined word means 'Master of language.'

According to tradition Perumīlalaikkurumba Nāyanār stayed at Dévarmalai in the Pudukkóttai State, and there is a portrait sculpture of him on the wall to the left of the entrance to the shrine in the rock-cut temple. This saint was a contemporary of Sundarar.* Sundarar is believed to have lived in the middle or towards the close of the eighth century A. D. Thus it is probable that the temple was excavated in the time of Dantivarman or Nandivarman III.

There are some hymns in the *Divya-prabhandam*, in praise of the God in the Tirumayam Viṣṇu temple, composed by Tirumaṅgai Ālvār who according to Mr. Gopalan ('Pallavas of Kānchi') was a contemporary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (C. 710-775 A. D.). An inscription (P. S. I. 13) on a slab in the temple records that when Śāttan Māraṇ, also called Viḍēlaviḍugu Viḷuppēradi araiyan, made some improvements to the temple, his mother Perumbiḍugu Perundēvi gave some gifts of lands to it. Śāttan Māraṇ's reign may be assigned to the eighth century as shown below, and the palæographical evidence also indicates that the inscription belongs to the same period. The Viṣṇu temple at Tirumayam must, therefore, have been built early in that century.

THE MUTTARAIYARS.

The Muttaraiyars were an influential line of chieftains who in these centuries ruled in the borderland between the Pāṇḍya and Pallava kingdoms. For many generations they held large portions of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts and of the Pudukkóttai State. "The centre of their power was somewhere in the District of Tanjore. Śendalai, at present a small-village near Tirukkàttuppalli, appears once to have been a flourishing town with the beautiful name of Candralékha, and either this place or Niyamam in its neighbourhood was most probably the centre of the Muttaraiya rule. There is even now

* C. V. Narayana Aiyar—"Origin and Early History of Saivism in South India"—Madras University. p. 125-126 and 462--1936.

in existence a village by name Muttaraśanallūr within five miles of Trichinopoly." * *Nāḷāḍiyār*, a *Saṅgam* work said to be contemporaneous with the epic *Maṇimekhalai*, twice mentions a Peru-Muttaraiyan. We learn more about the Muttaraiyars from their epigraphs,—the Śendalai pillar inscriptions† those in the Pudukkóṭṭai State and those in the Tanjore and Tinnevely districts. "There is also a curious coincidence in strange *birudas* between these rulers and the Pallava kings. Examples are *Perumbiḍugu* and *Vidēlaviḍugu* (and *Māripiḍugu*). These facts might lead one to suppose that these rulers were the subordinate allies of their Pallava contemporaries. On the other hand there are other facts which seem to make it necessary to modify this conclusion. First, some kings of the Muttaraiya line date their records in their own regnal years (18 of Ilaṅgō-Muttaraiyan in No. 12 of 1899 from Śendalai). Secondly, one inscription (10 of 1899) which records a gift by a servant of a Muttaraiyan is dated in the the tenth regnal year of Mārāñjaḍayan. And lastly, there is a gift by the queen of Śatrubbayaṅkara Muttaraiyan, recorded in a stone inscription in the Tinnevely district, and dated the twenty-first regnal year of Śaḍayan Māran (421 of 1906). In fact, at one stage it was even supposed that the Muttaraiyars were a branch of the ruling house of the Pāṇḍyas, and emphasis was laid on the occurrence of the name of Māran among the Muttaraiya *kings*."If it is assumed that the Muttaraiyars bore some of the *birudas* of the Pallavas as their allies, it is equally possible that they bore the title Māran as the allies of the Pāṇḍyas..... "But the facts set forth above indicate clearly that no simple hypothesis is likely to furnish a key to the history of these chieftains. The best way of reconciling all the known facts about the Muttaraiyar seems to suppose that they held their sway for several generations in the debatable land between the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas and

* K. A. Nilakanta Śāstri:—"Pandyan Kingdom," page 84.

† See B. I. XIII, III and IV.

ruled, either independently or in subjugation to the Pāṇḍyas or the Pallavas, in accordance with the trend of contemporary politics." *

The Muttaraiyars also called themselves by the synonyms *Viḷuppéradiyaraiyar* or *Viḷupéraraiyar* (*viḷu* like *muttu* means "pearl.") On the basis of the Śendalai records attributed to the second half of the eighth century A. D. and of the inscriptions of the Muttaraiyars in Puḍukkóṭṭai, the following chronology may be suggested.

Peru-Muttaraiyan.	Sangam times.
1. Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyan also called Kuvávan Máran.	Probably contemporary of the Pallava Narasimhavarman II Rájasimha (C. 680-700 A. D.) and of the Pāṇḍya Parāṅkuṣa Arikésari. Mára-varman (C. 670-710 A. D.).
2. Ilaṅgoḍiyaraiyan also called Máran Paramésvaran (probably identical with Sempúdi also called Ilaṅgoḍiyaraiyar and with Púdikajari also called Amarúṇri Muttaraiyan). Son of (1).	Probably contemporary of Paramés-varavarman II, Pallava (C. 700-710 A. D.) and of the Pāṇḍya Parāṅkuṣa Arikésari and his successor Kócca-ḍaiyan Raṇadhira Śaḍáyan Máran (C. 710-740 A. D.).
3. Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyan also called Śuvaran Máran (of the Śendalai inscriptions mentioned above), Śri Máran, Satrukésari, and Kalvarkalvan and identical with Śatrubhayaṅkara Muttaraiyan (C. 421 of 1906).—Son of (2).	Contemporary of Raṇadhira Śaḍayan Máran Pāṇḍya and of Pallava Nandivarman II (C. 710-775 A. D.) in the early years of his reign.
4. Vidélaviḍugu Viḷuppéradiyaraiyar also called Śáttan Máran. Son of (3).	Contemporary of Pallava Nandi-varman II (late in his reign) and Mára-varman Rájasimha I Pāṇḍya (C. 740-765).
5. Máripḍugu Péraḍiyaraiyar. (probably son of 4).	Contemporary of Nandivarman II and of Dantivarman (C. 775-826 A. D.) in the early years of his reign, and of Pāṇḍya Máraṇḍaḍaiyan (C. 765-815 A. D.).

* K. A. Nilakanta Sastri :—*ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

6. Viḍélaviḍugu Muttaraiyan also called Kuvàvan Śāttan (probably son of 5).

Contemporary of Dantivarman and Nandivarman III (C. 826—849); and of Śri Maṣa Śrivallabha Pāṇḍya (C. 815- 862 A. D.).

7. Śāttan Paḷiyili son of 6.

Later contemporary of Pallava Nandivarman III and of the Pāṇḍya Sri Vallabha.

8. Son (name not known), and Paḷiyili Śiriyanaṅgai daughter of Śāttan Paḷiyili.

Contemporaries of Nṛpatuṅga (C. 849-875); and of the Pāṇḍyas Varaguṇavarman (C. 862-880) and Parāntaka Vīra Nārāyaṇa (C. 880—900).

The periods in which Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyan, also called Kuvàvan Māraṇ (No. 1 of the above list), and Ilaṅgōḍiyaraiyan, also called Māraṇ Paramésvaran (No. 2 above), reigned may be determined by working back from the time of Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyan, also called Śuvaran Māraṇ (No. 3 of the above), whose first inscription at Śendalai, assigned to the first half of the 8th century, A. D., states that 1 and 2 were his grandfather and father respectively. We may safely say that they ruled in the second half of the seventh and the early years of the eighth century.

We do not know much about the first Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyan—Kuvàvan Māraṇ, except that he was the grandfather of Perumbiḍugu-Śuvaran Māraṇ of the Śendalai record. He may have been a contemporary of the Pallava Narasimhavarman II Rajasimha (C. 680 to 700 A. D.) and of the Pāṇḍya Arikésari Parāntaka Māraṇvarman (C. 670 to 710 A. D.).

His son Ilaṅgōḍiyaraiyan, or Māraṇ Paramésvaran, seems to be identical with the Ilaṅgōḍiyaraiyan, also called Śempūdi, who is said to have been the original builder of the Vijayālaya Cōḷśvaram stone temple at Nārttāmalai. A Muttaraiyan called Amarūnṛi (firm in battle) Pūdikaḷari (the enemy of Pūdikaḷ-Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs?), referred to in a record at Pūvālaikkudi (142 of 1907), may be identical with this chief. Māraṇ

Paramésvaran, according to the above list, seems to have been a contemporary of the Pallava Paramésvavarman II (C. 700 to 710 A. D.) and of the two Pāṇḍyas Arikésari Parāṅkuśa Māra-varman (C. 670 to 710 A. D.) and his successor Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra (C. 710 to 740 A. D.). He bore the same name as his Pallava contemporary, and was perhaps the first to build a stone structural temple in the Puḍukkóṭṭai territory. This is probable, for the building of structural temples in stone, called after him the "Rājasimha style" of Pallava architecture came into vogue in the time of Rājasimha, who according to our scheme was the contemporary of the father of this Muttaraiyar chief. It is probable that the original structure, which was destroyed, was rebuilt a century and a half later in the time of Vijayālaya Cōla by Mallan Viḍuman. The temple that we now see exhibits certain features of later Pallava architecture.

His son Perumbiḍugu-Suvaran Māraṇ, bore the names, Śrī Māraṇ, Tamarālaya, Śatrukésari, Abhimānadhīraṇ, and Kaḷvarkaḷvan, all of which occur in the Śendalai records, while the last three occur in an inscription at Killikóṭṭai (P. S. I. 236). The Śendalai records are full of his exploits. The fact that they are assigned to the first half of the 8th century leads one to identify him with Śatrubayaṅkara. *Śatrubayaṅkara* means "the terror of enemies" and is almost synonymous with *Śatrukésarai* meaning "a lion to his enemies." This Muttaraiyan, whose queen was the donor of a grant dated in the 21st year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Śaḍayan Māraṇ (C. 710-740 A. D.) at Śevelipuri in Tinnevely district, may therefore have lived in the early years of the reign of Pallava Nandivarman II (C. 710-775 A. D.). The first Śendalai inscription gives his genealogy and mentions that he built a temple for the Goddess at Śendalai. The other Śendalai records, which are all Tamil verses composed by different poets, mention that he fought a number of battles on behalf of the Pallavas against the Pāṇḍyas and Céras, and gained

victories at:—(1) Koḍumbai (Koḍumbālūr in Pudukkóttai)—where he probably defeated the Vélir chiefs. (2) Maṇalūr in Tanjore district, 10 miles from Kumbakonam. (3) Tiṇṇalūr, 8½ miles north-east of Tanjore, where “his enemies lost their honour, the Pāṇdyas were defeated, their wives caused to enter the fire and their elephants which appeared in the battlefield were seized.” (4) Kāṇḍalūr, on the West coast, where he defeated the Céras. (5) Alundiyūr. (6) Kārai (Kāraiyyūr in Tirupattūr Taluk, Ramnad district). (7) Maraṅgūr. (8) Annaḷvāyil (Anna-vāśal in Pudukkóttai). (9) Semponmāri. (10) Venkóḍai in Tañjai Śembulanāḍu. (11) Puḡaḷi and (12) Kaṇṇanūr (Śamaya-puram near Trichinopoly). We learn* that Perumbiḍugu Perundévi, evidently the queen of this chief and mother of Viḍélaviḍugu-Śāttan Māran, renovated or improved the Viṣṇu cave-temple at Tirumayam, and endowed a village for its maintenance. The cave-temple must have been in existence in the time of Nandivarman II Pallava Malla (C. 710–775 A. D.) according to the independent evidence supplied by the *Divyaprabandham*, which contains hymns composed by Tirumaṅgai Ālvār a contemporary of that monarch, in praise of the God at Tirumayam.

Śuvaran Māran's son Viḍélaviḍugu Viḷuppéraḍiyaraiyan—Śāttan Māran was the contemporary of the Pāṇḍya Māravarman Rājasimha I and lived in the latter half of the reign of Nandivarman II.

Śāttan Māran seems to have been succeeded by Māripiḍugu who made grants in the 3rd and 5th years of the Pallava Dantivarman's reign (C. 775–826 A. D.), and so must have been ruling towards the end of the reign of Nandivarman II and during that of the Pāṇḍya Māran Śaḍaiyan (C. 765–815 A. D.). A subordinate of this chief named Vālivaḍugan also called Kalimūrka Ilavaraiyan is said to have had the tank called *Vāli-éri* dug at

* P. S. I. 13

Kunnāṇḍārkóvil.* Records of the Cōla Parāntaka I at Ālam-bākkam in the Trichinopoly district show that there was there a tank called *Māripidugu éri*. A large well at Tiruveḷḷarai in the Trichinopoly district, called *Māripidugu Perunginaru*, was constructed between the fourth and fifth years of Dantivarman's reign. Another inscription at the same place dated in Dantivarman's reign mentions a *Māripidugu Ilaṅgóvel*, evidently an officer under *Māripidugu*. Inscriptions of the reign of the Cōla Rājārāja I mention a place called *Māripidugu Caturvédimāṅgalam* in Rājéndrasimha vaḷanaḍu (S. I. I. II, iii, page 325).

Probably Viḍelaviḍugu Muttaraiyan, also called Kuvāvan Śāttan, was the son of *Māripidugu*. According to an inscription at Malaiyaḍipattī (P. S. I. 18) dated the 16th year of Dantivarman's reign, Viḍelaviḍugu excavated the Siva cave-temple there. The God of this place was called *Vāgiśvara*, the Sanskrit equivalent of Tirunāvukkarasu, a name of the Saint Appar, who was a contemporary of Mahēndravarmān I. His son Śāttan Paḷiyili, has been mentioned (see page 562) as the excavator of the cave-temple called *Paḷiyili Iṣvaram* at Nārttāmalai. He lived towards the end of Dantivarman's reign and the beginning of that of Nandivarman III. Śāttan Paḷiyili was probably a contemporary of Nandivarman III, and the Pāṇḍya Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha, and his son whose name is not known, erected a *maṇḍapam* in front of the cave, and had a vehicle in the form of a bull made for the idol, and also a shed to keep it in, as we learn from an inscription (P. S. I. 19) dated the seventh year of the reign of Pallava Nṛpatuṅga (C. 849—875 A. D.). This chief was therefore contemporary of the latter and also of the Pāṇḍya Parāntaka Vīra Nārāyaṇa (C. 880 to 900 A. D.).

The second half of the ninth century marks the rise of the Cōlas under Vijayālaya to power, and their capture of Tanjore territory from the Muttaraiyars. The latter "either of their own

* P. S. I. 17. dated the fifth year of Dantivarman's reign.

accord or as a result of the temptation offered by Varaguṇa, appear to have thrown in their lot with the Pāṇḍyas. The result was that they lost Tanjore which was captured by Vijayālaya acting in the interests of the Pallavas."*

A single inscription of a certain Kōṇāḷaru Muttaraiyar is found in the Kīraṇūr temple (P. S. I. 237) dated in the 13th year of his reign. The characters are in old Tamil and may belong to a century later than the ninth—perhaps the tenth.† We know nothing more about him.

We hear of Muttaraiyars only as vassal chiefs under the Cōḷas till the time of Kulóttunga I. An inscription at Kuḍumiyamalai (P. S. I. 31) of the 20th year of the reign of a Rājākesari mentions a Muttaraiyar Nambi and a Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyar; another at the same place (P. S. I. 45) dated the 6th year of the reign of a Parakésari mentions the daughter of a Muttaraiyar who was the queen of Śembiyan Irūkkuvél, and a third (No. 69) of the 23rd year of the reign of a Parakésari mentions a Viḷuppéraiyaṇ Vēlan Puḡalan and his mother Udaiyāl Kavimadi. An inscription in the Tiruviḷāṅguḍi Śiva temple (P. S. I. 90) dated the 14th year (1012 A. D.) of the reign of Rājārāja Cōḷa I mentions that Nūṛṟuvéli, a hamlet near that village which had long been deserted, was named Pāśūrnaṅgai Nallūr, after Pāśūrnaṅgaiyār, the mother of the Sēnapati, or General, Muḍikondacōḷa Viḷuppéraiyaṇ of Uttamacōḷanallūr. Another inscription in the Irumbāṇāḍu temple (P. S. I. 126) dated the 46th year of the reign of Kulóttunga I (1115 A. D.) mentions Aṇukka Viḷuppéraiyaṇ, a Revenue Survey and settlement officer. A Vijayālaya Muttaraiyar is one of the signatories in an inscription of the reign of Kulóttunga I discovered at Tiruneḍuṅḡlam in the Trichinopoly district (No. 670 of 1909).

* K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: Cōḷas, Vol. I, page 134.

† The inscription is on the wall of the central shrine of the Śiva temple, which from the architectural style appears not to be earlier than the 10th century.

Mr. K. V. Subramania Iyer observes that "there is a class of people who call themselves Muttaraśans (mostly in the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts), and this is perhaps the only living remnant of this ancient dynasty."* (See Mutturāja in Vol. I, p. 129).

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE (7th-9th CENTURIES).

Government.—The king was assisted by ministers in charge of the several departments. There were governors or Viceroyes in charge of the provinces—*rāṣṭras* or *maṇḍalas*, which were subdivided into *kūrṇams* and *nāḍus*. The smallest unit of local self-government was the *grāmam* or village, and the names of villages usually had one of the suffixes *maṇḍalam*, *kūḍi*, *ūr* or *vayal* which still survive.

Civil and military functions were not rigidly divided. Inscriptions and grants refer to officers who distinguished themselves both as ministers and generals, and were also diplomats and poets. The king set up monuments to commemorate the gallantry not only of *Ēnādis* or commanders but even of private soldiers.

Taxation and revenue.—We have no detailed information about the system of revenue collection and taxation prevalent during these centuries. The nature of the taxes and rents to which a village was subject can only be determined from the list of exemptions mentioned in the inscriptions relating to grants other than *Brahmadéyam*, or grants to Brāhmins, and *Dēvadānam*, or grants to temples: lands so granted were *īraiyaḷi* or tax-free. Such grants of land were believed to secure spiritual merit. An Irukkuvéḷ chief making a tax-free endowment to a religious institution winds up with the formula, 'may the feet of whoever respects this grant be for ever on my head.' (P. S. I. 9). The perpetuation of such an endowment was looked upon as a religious obligation (P. S. I. 237). Tax-free lands carried with

* E. I. Vol. XIII, p. 139.

them the *káráṇmai*, or tenancy, and cultivators' rights, and *miyáṭci* or freehold rights. Gifts to temples were entrusted either to the *náṭṭars* of the village, as in P. S. I. No. 238, in which a grant to the temple of Kuḍumiyamalai or Tirunalakkunṇam, as it was then called, was placed in the hands of the people of Pinnaṅguḍi and Parambaiyúr, who were charged with the responsibility for its proper administration, or to the chief of the assembly—the *Sáttan* of the *Sabha* as in P. S. I. No. 19. All breaches of such trusts were penalised with fines payable to temples. For example, it was stipulated in the Nārttāmalai inscription (P. S. I. 19) that for any breach of trust, the trustee who was responsible for the proper conduct of the endowment should pay a fine of 25 *kalañjus*.* The boundaries of grants of land were demarcated with stones or Euphorbia hedges.

The Assembly.—Membership to the village assembly was strictly regulated by qualifications of property and learning. Committees called *váriyams* formed its executive. The committees were responsible for the prompt despatch of business, and drastic penalties were imposed upon members who obstructed business.

The assembly attended to almost all the affairs of the village. One of its chief functions was to look after the temple administration, manage endowments, and conduct the daily temple services and periodical festivals. Another important duty was to supervise repairs to tanks. The inscriptions of this period mention the excavation of a number of irrigation tanks (e. g. P. S. I. 17). An interesting inscription relates to the construction of a stone sluice at Rāśalippaṭṭi in the reign of Nandivarman (P. S. I. 16).

There are references in the State inscriptions of this period to village assemblies at Nārttāmalai, Peruvilattūr in Annalvāyil (Annavaśai) kúṇṇam, Kīraṇúr, Pinnaṅguḍi and Parambaiyúr.

* *Kalañju* mentioned in the inscriptions is the gold *kāṣu*, 'the coin being apparently described by its weight.'

Religion.—The period that we are now studying was an age of Hindu revival. A wave of the *Bhakti* cult swept over the Tamil land. Devotion to a personal God, in the aspect of Śiva or of Viṣṇu, service to God's devotees, feeding and clothing them and otherwise ministering to their happiness and comfort, were the chief duties of those who practised this cult. The new revival had a militant side also; it tried to suppress the 'heretical sects' of the Jainas and the Bauddhas. The leaders of this revival were the 63 Śaiva Nāyanmārs and the 18 Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs. Four of the Nāyanmārs, Appar, Tiruḡṇānasambandar, Sundaramūrti and Māṇikkavācakar, and all the Ālvārs, composed hymns and travelled all over the Tamil country, and even outside it, singing the praises of God to the accompaniment of the *yāl*, and carrying on disputations with the Jainas and the Bauddhas.

The hymns of the Śaiva 'Four' are known as the *Tévarām*, and those of the Vaiṣṇava 'Eighteen' as the *Tiruvāymoli prabandham*. There are references in the *Tévarām* to some shrines in the State.* The *Periyapurāṇam* which treats of the lives of the 63 saints refers to the great importance of *Kōṇāḍu* and mentions Koḍumbāḷūr as its chief town.† The Vaiṣṇava saint Tirumaṅgai Ālvar sang hymns in praise of the God at Tirumayam.‡

Two of the Nāyanmārs are associated with the State. Idanḡaḷi Nāyanār was a *Vēḷir* chieftain of Koḍumbāḷūr, and Perumīlalai Kuṟumba Nāyanār, who obtained psychic powers and finally salvation by meditating upon the greatness of the

* of. Kaḍuvāyar tamai nīkki yennai yātkoḷ
Kaṇṇudaló nannu miḍam *Aṇṇalvāyil*
Neduvāyil Nirai vāyal śūḷi neydaḷ vāyil

Tirunāvukkaraṣu Nāyanār—Tiruttāṇḍakam 6th Tirumuḡai.

† *Periyapurāṇam*—*Idanḡaḷi Nāyanār Purāṇam*, Stanzas 1 and 2.

‡ Tirumaṅgai Ālvar—*Periya Tirumoli*, II Hundred vth ten eighth verse; III, vi, 9; V, v, 2; VI, viii, 7; VIII, ii, 3; IX, ii, 3; X, i, 5; XI, vii, 5. *Tirukkūṟundāṇḍakam*, verse 19, line 3. *Periyatirumaḡal*, verse 126 line 1.

Saint Sundarar, was a Kuṟumbar of Miḷalaikúṟram. The sculpture to the north of the entrance into the central shrine of the rock-cut cave-temple at Dévarmalai is believed to represent this Saint. In his account of Saint Kúṟruva Nàyanàr, a chieftain of Kaḷandai, Mr. C. V. Narayana Aiyar says, "very probably he was connected with the Koḍumbàḷūr chieftains in the vicinity of Pudukkóṭṭai."*

The monolithic cave-temples excavated in this period have already been mentioned. Great importance seems to have been attached to temple festivals. Two inscriptions in the Sri Parvatagiriśvara temple at Kunnāṇḍārkovil (P. S. I. 8 and 15) mention gifts of rice to be cooked and distributed among Brāhmins on the *Tiruváḍirai* day sacred to Śiva in December—January. P. S. I. 19 at Nārttāmalai mentions an endowment for daily service in the temple. Endowments for the maintenance of 'perpetual lamps' were common (e. g. P. S. I. 238 at Kuḍumiyāmalai). A Tirugókarṇam inscription (P. S. I. 239) records an interesting gift to the temple of a lamp bought with money collected by begging (*uññāṭṭudal*). Such gifts are common. Endowments to temples were made by people of all ranks and grades in society, by chiefs and ordinary citizens, and by village assemblies.

The Jains.—We have already mentioned that there were colonies of Jains at Śittannavāśal, Ténimalai, and Nārttāmalai. During these three centuries (7th to 9th) the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva saints went about the country preaching against the Jains and the Buddhists. They almost succeeded in suppressing the Buddhist faith in the Tamil country, as was noted by the Chinese Pilgrim Hieun Tsang (Yuan Chwang) when he visited Kāñci in the middle of the seventh century. But even the dialectical skill of Appar and Sambandar did not succeed in suppressing the Jainas. Jaina Saṅgas flourished in the land. A Ténimalai

* C. V. Narayana Aiyar: "Origin and Early History of Śaivism in South India": University of Madras: 1936.

inscription (P. S. I. 9) mentions that Malayadhvaja, a Jaina ascetic, lived there, and that an Irukkuvél chief gave him a rent-free *avippuram* or endowment of land for his maintenance. Another inscription of this period (No. 10) in the same place mentions that there was a *maṭha* there called *Āṇḍārmadam*, and that one Valla Udana Seruvoṭṭi made an image of the *Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra*. An inscription in archaic characters on the 'beds' in the Śittannavaśal natural cavern, which is on palæographic grounds, assignable to the 8th or 9th century, gives the names of ascetics who retired to the cave to perform penance. The excavation of a rock-cut cave-temple on the western side of the same hill in the reign of Mahēndravarman I for the benefit of his Jaina subjects has already been mentioned. Jain images—Tīrthaṅkaras and Yakṣis,—are found in different parts of the State, but there is no clear evidence of their date. The Jaina sect was flourishing in the State side by side with the other Hindu sects.

Literature, Art, and Architecture.—

The *Tēvāram* and the *Nāḷāyira Prabandham* were the outstanding contributions to Tamil literature in this period. The kings, both Pāṇḍya and Pallava, were patrons of learning and encouraged both Sanskrit and Tamil scholars. Some of them were themselves poets of no mean order. We have mentioned Mahēndravarman's contribution to poetry, drama, music and painting.

This period marks a new stage in the evolution of temple architecture. The old temples in wood and other perishable material gave place to stone structures. The first stage was the excavation of cave-temples originated by Mahēndravarman. The salient features of his style have been described above (see pages 555–556). The next stage was the carving of Māmalla's monolithic free-standing temples at Mahāmallapuram. An inscription on the basement of the main shrine beneath a *Dvārapālaka* image in the Vijayālaya Cōḷśvaram temple at Nārttāmalaḷai mentions that it was a stone temple built by Ilaṅgoḍiyaraiyar, otherwise known as Śembūdi, that it was struck by

lightning and was rebuilt by Mallan Viḍuman. The original temple may have been a Pallava structure of the Ràjasimha style (see page 567 above). Unfortunately all traces of structural temples of the Pallava period, if any did exist, are now lost, and the next stage in the evolution of Dravidian architecture is marked by a group of early Cōla stone temples and the Múvar-kóvil of Koḍumbàlūr, which will be described in the next section.

It is beyond the scope of this book to attempt a detailed account of the iconography of the Pallava period. The images found in the cave-temples of the State compare favourably with those in the temples of the Seven Pagodas and at Conjeevaram. We find here the massive cylindrical lingas fixed to *yóni pīṭhas*, usually associated with Pallava temples, images of Gaṇéśa with a prominent forehead and his trunk sometimes curled to the right in the manner characteristic of Pallava Gaṇéśas, figures of Gods and Goddesses, two armed in the early stage and four-armed in the later stage, and bas-relief representations of the Tṛimūrti, the Lingódbhava and Gaṅgàdaréśvara forms of Śiva, and Śukhàsana-mūrtis. The Durgà panel in the Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi Śiva cave compares well with the Durgà or Mahiṣàsuramardhani at Màmallapuram; and the Goddess here as at the Seven Pagodas, is represented with a benign countenance, eight-armed, astride on her lion, and aiming a spear at the demon. The panel representing the Saptamàṭṛkā or seven Goddesses in the same cave deserves mention. Anantasayanam, the figure of Viṣṇu reclining on a serpent, common in Pallava iconography, is the principal idol in the two Viṣṇu cave-temples in the State, Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi and Tirumayam. The Gaṇas and Gandharvas (particularly the flying Gandharvas) and Nandikéśvara, are as common here as in Pallava shrines elsewhere.

The *dvādrapālakas* in the State cave-temples are a distinctive feature of Pallava iconography. Their long thick *yagnōpavīta* corresponding to the modern *pūnīl* or holy-thread, the peculiar

body ornaments, the serpents entwining their limbs, and their huge clubs, are characteristic. They stand either facing the spectator or turned sideways exhibiting their profile. Occasionally one arm grips the club, and the other is lifted up in token of adoration. They wear a tall head-dress, and their hair is often done up in a mass resting on the shoulders. Sometimes they wear a flat turban from which occasionally bull's horns project on either side. Mr. Venkata Rangan Rāju thinks that these are not horns but represent the *Valari*, a weapon something like a boomerang. Another suggestion is that the horns are those of a crescent, and are intended to recall the fact that the Pallavas, as is mentioned in the *Nandikalambakam*, claimed descent from the 'lunar' race of kings.

Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan suggests that some of the figures usually regarded as *dvārapālakas* or gate-keepers may really be portrait-sculptures of the builders of the temples. This theory has met with almost general acceptance. "In the rock-cut cave-temple of Kunnāṇḍārkōvil stands, for instance, a relief which is very probably a portrait of a Pallava; the prominence given to it, the care bestowed on it, and its marked individuality, suggest that the sculptor had chosen a Pallava chieftain for his subject."^{*} Dévarmalai, Kuḍumiyāmalai, and the Śiva temples at Malaiyāḍippaṭṭi and Tirumayam also contain portrait-sculptures. The northernmost relief on the left of the entrance to the shrine in the Dévarmalai cave-temple, according to tradition, is said to represent the saint Perumīlāsaikurumba Nāyanār as already mentioned. These Pallava sculptures are simple in style, natural in pose and expression, and not loaded with conventional ornamentation.

Among the Śittannavāśal frescoes is a much damaged panel on a pillar showing king Mahēndravarman with his queen. This closely resembles the bas-relief of the king and his queens in the Ādi-varāha cave-temple at Mahābalipuram.

^{*} T. G. Aravamuthan: "Portrait sculptures in South India" India Society, London, 1931. p. 27.

SECTION IV.—FROM THE NINTH TO THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

THE CÓLA EMPIRE—THE VIJAYÁLAYA LINE.

PARAKÉSARI VIJAYÁLAYA (C. 850—871 A. D.).

The first capital of the Cólās after the revival of their power under Vijayàlaya, the first of a line of rulers who are known in history as the Imperial Cólās, was at Uṛaiyūr. Vijayàlaya defeated the Muttaraiyars who had thrown in their lot with the Pàṇḍya king Varaguṇavarman, and captured Tanjore. Though nominally a Pallava vassal, Vijayàlaya was practically the independent ruler of the territories comprising the modern districts of Trichinopoly, Tanjore and South Arcot, and parts of North Arcot and the Pudukkóṭṭai State.

*Monuments in the State of Vijayàlaya's time :**

As Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri observes,† “Possibly Vijayàlaya, though a vassal of the Pallava ruler, still dated his records in his own regnal years—a privilege exercised by certain vassals at all times and by all of them when the power of their suzerain was on the decline. It is certain, however, that some of the Parakésari records nearer home (Uṛaiyūr) are really his.” On this assumption, we may conclude that some of the Parakésari inscriptions, P. S. I. 61 for example, and perhaps many of those found in the Pallava rock-cut shrines in the State belong to the reign of Vijayàlaya. An inscription of Raja Raja I‡ mentions a village named *Vijayàlaya Caturvédimangalam* in the Tanjore district; it was evidently named after Vijayàlaya.

* The only ‘Parakésari’ record that can be assigned to this reign is P. S. I. 61 at Munasandai, dated the 20th year of the reign. It mentions for the first time the famous merchant guild of South India, *nāṇḍ-dēsa-tiṣai-dyirattu-aṣṣūruvar* (‘the five hundred of the thousand districts in the four quarters’) which is described at the end of this section.

† “Cólās,” Vol. I, page 131.

‡ S. I. I. II, No. 69 and III, p. 327.

A Pāṇḍya inscription in the State (No. 282) mentions under the name *Vijayālaya Cōlīśvaram*, the structural temple, or rather group of temples with a central shrine and the remains of seven smaller shrines round it, on the Mélamalai in the Nārttāmalai where, as has been mentioned above (pages 566-7), is an inscription recording how the stone temple originally constructed by Śempūdi Ilaṅgōḍiyaraiyar was destroyed by lightning and rain and rebuilt by Tennavan Tamiḷadiyaraiyan. This reconstruction must have taken place in the time of Vijayālaya, and the temple been named after him. It has a circular *garbhagr̥ham* surrounded by a square *prākāram*; the *vimānam* above the *garbhagr̥ham* and *prākāram* has four storeys of which the lower three are square and the uppermost circular; and above the *grīvam* is a dome-shaped *śikharam*. There is an *ardhamandapam* in front. A circular *garbhagr̥ham* within a square *prākāram* is unusual; and the external appearance of the edifice reminds one of the later Pallava style.

There is a group of small temples in the State—at Kaḷiyāppaṭṭi, Tiruppūr, Viśalūr and Panaṅguḍi—which are evidently much earlier in date than the more elaborate Cōla temples, at Tirukkaṭṭalai and Kaṇṇanūr for example. In the Kaḷiyāppaṭṭi temple there is an unpublished inscription of the 18th year of a Parakésari, in which according to Messrs. K. Venkatarangam Raju and S. R. Balasubramanian,* the figure '8' in the year '18' and many of the vowels are sufficiently archaic to warrant our assigning it to the 9th century. This Parakésari cannot have been Parakésari Parāntaka I, who prefixed the title of *Maduraikonda*—‘he who took Madura,’ to his name long before the 18th year of his reign, and may therefore be taken to be Parakésari Vijayālaya. The absence of niches in the main walls of the *garbhagr̥ha*, the style of the *kūḍus*, the shape and ornamentation of the *śikhara* and the angular profile of the corbels, characteristic of this

* J. O. R. XII, 1, pages 67-68.

temple, mark the transition from the Pallava to the purely Cōla style. The temple resembles the shrine represented in the rock-cut relief now known as 'Bhagīratha's penance' at Mahābali-puram.*

The temples at Tiruppūr, Viśalūr, Panaṅguḍi and Ēnādi are of the same type. The first three may be coeval with Kaḷiyā-paṭṭi, and the last perhaps a later imitation.

RAJAKĒSARI ĀDITYA I. (C. 871-907 A. D.):

Vijayālaya's conquest of Tanjore, and the defeat of the Muttaraiyars, weakened Varaguna Pāṇḍya who, in an endeavour to regain his supremacy, advanced successfully on Iḍavai, but soon met the allied forces of the Pallava Aparājita, the Gaṅga king Prithvīpati I, and the Cōla Āditya I, in the battle of Śrī Purambiyam where he was signally defeated. The Gaṅga king lost his life, Aparājita did not pursue the victory, and Āditya took advantage of the situation and consolidated his position by defeating the Pallava king and annexing Tonḍaimaṇḍalam to the Cōla dominions in C. 890 A. D.

Āditya's successful arms penetrated into the Koṅgu country, and the Gaṅga king Pṛthvipati II acknowledged the Cōla suzerainty. At the time of Āditya's death the Cōla kingdom extended to Kālahasti in the north, and included much of modern Pudukkóttai State.

Monuments in the State of Āditya's time:†

The Anbil plates proclaim Āditya as the 'famous builder of tall rows of stone temples from the Sāhyādri mountains or the western ghats to the sea.' The Sundarésvara temple at Tiruk-kattalai called *Karkuricci Tirukkarrali* in the inscriptions, has two early Parakésari inscriptions and one of Rājakésarivarman (P. S. I. No. 21). The palæographical features‡ of the Rāja-késari inscription enable us to assign it to Āditya Rājakésari.

* Longhurst "Pallava Architecture"—Part II. Plate XXX.

† Six of the 'Rājakésari' inscriptions in the State (P. S. I. 21 and 31 to 35) with regnal years ranging from 3 to 40 may be assigned to this reign.

‡ See J. O. R. X, iii, page 232.

The Mucukunḍésvara temple at Koḍumbāḷūr, named *Tiruppūḍisvaram* in the earliest inscription there—P. S. I. 33, is similar to the Tirukkaṭṭalai temple in style and ornamentation, and may be assigned on architectural grounds alone to the middle of the 9th century. The earliest inscription in this temple (P. S. I. 33) is dated the 21st year of a Rājakésari. The two other Rājakésaris of this century, i. e., those before Raja Rāja I, were Gaṇḍarāditya and Sundara Cōla; the first ruled for eight years, and the second for 18 years, and it is therefore evident from this inscription, in which a much higher regnal year is given, that the temple must have been built in the time of Āditya Rājakésari, and named after Mucukunḍa, the legendary ancestor of the Cōlas.

In the Bālasubrahmanya temple of Kaṇṇanūr, which was recently renovated under orders of the Darbar, there are two inscriptions of a Rājakésari which have not been included in the 'Chronological list of Inscriptions', or published in the volume of the 'Inscriptions—Texts of the Pudukkōṭṭai State.' "The palæographical features of the inscriptions, the style of architecture and the details of decoration clearly indicate that the Rājakésarivarma referred to in the newly discovered inscriptions is none other than Āditya Cōla I.*

PARAKÉSARI PARĀNTAKA I (C. 907-953 A. D.):

Soon after his accession, Parāntaka invaded the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The campaign was prolonged and difficult. Rājasimha, the Pāṇḍya king, secured the help of the king of Ceylon, but the combined Pāṇḍyan and Ceylonese forces were defeated at the battle of Vélūr in about 915 A. D. Gradually Parāntaka conquered the whole of the Pāṇḍināḍu. Rājasimha fled to Ceylon, and failing to get further help went to the Kérala country (see page 554 above) leaving behind in Ceylon his diadem and other insignia of royalty. Parāntaka sent an army

* Messrs. K. Venkatarangam Raju and S. R. Balasubramanyan: J. O. R. XI, pages 315-317.

to Ceylon to seize the Pàṇḍyan diadem and insignia, but though his commander succeeded in defeating the Ceylon army, he could not secure the diadem. Paràntaka celebrated these successes by assuming the title of *Maduraiyum Iḷamumkoṇḍa* or 'he who conquered Madura and Ceylon.'

Paràntaka was assisted in his campaigns by the Véḷir chieftains of Koḍumbàḷūr who were in close alliance with the Cōḷa sovereign.* Paràntaka's son Arikulakésari had married Pūdi Ādicca Piḍàri, daughter of Tennavan Iḷaṅgóvēḷàr of Koḍumbàḷūr. The Sinnamanūr plates of the sixteenth year of Ràjasimha (C. 916) give an embellished account of a surprise victory that Ràjasimha won over the Véḷir forces at the battle of Koḍumbàḷūr, in the prolonged Cōḷa-Pàṇḍya war of Paràntaka's reign. A Kuḍumiyàmalai inscription (P. S. I. 255) of Māṇavarman Sundara Pàṇḍya I dated 1219-20 A. D. mentions a Cōḷa inscription of the reign of Paràntaka I which was reinscribed when the *prākāra* of the Śikhànāthasvāmi temple was widened. It refers to a grant of land by Vīra-Cōḷa Iḷaṅgóvēḷàr before he set out to ravage Iḷam (Ceylon). This is clear evidence that a Koḍumbàḷūr Véḷir headed Paràntaka's army of invasion. This inscription is dated the thirty-third year of Paràntaka's reign, and helps us to fix the date of the Ceylon expedition, which must have begun in 939-40 A. D.

In the intervals between the Pàṇḍya campaigns, Paràntaka subdued the Bāṇa chiefs and made his Gāṅga ally Pṛthivīpati II overlord of the Bāṇa country, that is, the modern Nellore district.

By 940, Cōḷa authority extended from modern Nellore in the north to Cape Comorin in the south. The neighbouring powers, the Rāṣṭrakūtas and the Eastern Cāḷukyas, were jealous of this rapid expansion. Paràntaka's grateful vassal and ally Pṛthivīpati, the Gāṅga king, died about 940 A. D. His successor Būtuga II, who had married a Rāṣṭrakūta princess, allied himself

* See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's 'Cōḷas' Vol. I, page 149.

with Kṛṣṇa III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king. This strengthened Kṛṣṇa, who invaded the Cōḷa kingdom and slew the prince Rājendra, also known as Kōḍaṇḍarāma, the eldest son of Parāntaka. The death of the prince cast a gloom over Parāntaka during the rest of his life, and brought about a temporary decline in the power of the Cōḷas.

This intrepid and ill-fated prince Rājendra or Kōḍaṇḍarāma is mentioned in two Kuḍumiyāmalai inscriptions (P. S. I. 78 and 80). The first, dated the fifteenth year of Parāntaka I, 921-22 A. D., mentions a gift of gold to the God at Kuḍumiyāmalai by an officer of the prince's household, and also by a servant employed to prepare sandal-paste for the prince's toilet. The second inscription, dated in the same year, mentions that the prince himself, 'Śrī Kōḍaṇḍarāma, son of the great Cōḷa lord Śrī Parāntaka, also called Maduraikoṇḍa Parakésari,' made a gift of gold to the same temple, and that the amount was invested with the residents of Pinnaṅguḍi, a neighbouring village. These gifts may have been made by the prince and his servants while they camped at Kuḍumiyāmalai during the Pāṇḍyan campaigns.

Monuments of Parāntaka's reign :

The architectural features of Tiruvagnīśvara temple at Cittūr in Tirumayan taluk, and the character of the epigraphs in it, mark it as an early Cōḷa monument. The central shrine and the ardhamandapa, both of the same period, have different kinds of corbels; the corbel of the former has the characteristic Pallava roll-moulding, but instead of a roll at the lower edge of the curved part of the corbel, we find a hollow moulding as in the Tirukkaṭṭalai temple, while the ardhamandapa has the ordinary plain bevelled corbel. The earliest inscription in the temple (P. S. I. 24) is of the 4th year of a Rājakesari who may be identified with Gaṇḍarāditya, the successor of Parāntaka, and the next earliest (P. S. I. 27), of the 7th year of Rāja Rāja I. The occurrence of an inscription of the fourth year of Gaṇḍarāditya supports the view that the temple may

have been built in Paràntaka's time (C. 907-953 A. D.). The temple with its sub-shrines is now partly in ruins, but the central shrine, the *ardhamandapa* and the lower portion of the *vimānam* have now been conserved by the Darbar and renovated.

The Śiva temple at Nīrpaṇi has all the characteristics of the early Cōḷa temples. The earliest Cōḷa inscription (P. S. I. 30) in it is of the 6th year of a Rājakésari identified as Gaṇḍarāditya. In front of the maṇḍapam, in which there is the image of a *nandi*, there is a stone slab bearing a trident and an inscription (P. S. I. 241) of an early Pāṇḍyan king, Māraṇ Śaḍayan (C. 765-815 A. D.) mentioning endowments to the God of Nīrpaṇi. This inscription shows beyond doubt that there was a temple here in the 8th century. It seems certain that a stone temple of this style could not have existed in the 8th century. We may therefore conclude that the original structure was probably of brick and mortar, and was rebuilt in stone before the 6th year of Gaṇḍarāditya, probably in Paràntaka's time.

The main shrine of Śikhānāthaśvāmi in the temple at Kuḍumiyāmalai seems to have been built about this time. It is an interesting fact that all the early Cōḷa inscriptions in this temple are on the walls of its second *prākāra*, and not on the main shrine. There are four early Parakésari inscriptions (P. S. I. 48, 49 and 50 of the 8th year and 56 of the 13th year). This Parakésari must have been a predecessor of Rāja Rāja I—either Paràntaka I or Uttama Cōḷa. We know from P. S. I. 78 that the shrine was in existence in 922 A. D. in Paràntaka's time, when the attendants of Prince Kōḍaṇḍarāma made gifts to the Gods of *Tirumūlaṭṭānam* and of *Tirumēṭaḷi*; the former refers to Śikhānāthaśvāmi and the latter to the God of the Mélaikkóvil (Méṭ-taḷi=Mélaikkóvil, western shrine). It is quite probable that the shrine was constructed in Paràntaka's time, if not earlier. The absence of early inscriptions on the original shrine, and their presence on the *prākāra* walls, suggest

that the shrine has been remodelled. Tradition ascribes the building of the central shrine to one of the Sundara Pāṇḍyas. We know from the State inscriptions (P. S. I. Nos. 248, 255, 285 and 506) that in the time of the second Pāṇḍya empire, especially in the reign of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, the structure of the temple underwent considerable modifications.

The Śiva temple at Maḍattukkóvil is another example of an early Cōla temple that was reconstructed after the decline of the second Pāṇḍya empire in an altogether different style. Of the 14 inscriptions found in this temple, 12 of Cōla and Pāṇḍya times are found on the entrance and on the walls of the cloister of the *prākāram*. The only inscription on the walls of the main shrine are the names in modern *Grantha* script of the *ṛṣis* represented as worshipping Śiva, which are sculptured in relief under the cornice. The earliest inscription on the *prākāra* wall (P. S. I. 56) is dated the 13th year of a Parākésari and mentions a chief, Uḍaiyār Vīracōlan Uttamasīlan who bore one of Parāntaka's surnames. The regnal year and the name of the chief support the inference that the Parakésari of this record was Parāntaka I; in which case the date would be 920 A. D. The original shrine seems to have been intact in 1030 A. D. when, according to an inscription of the 13th year of Rajādhirāja I (P. S. I. 105), a *ṇṭṭamaṇḍapam*, * no trace of which remains, was added to the main shrine. An inscription (P. S. I. 358) of the 17th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (June 3, 1267 A. D.) mentions repairs to or reconstruction of the temple, and another (P. S. I. 1107), undated, mentions a chief—Uḍaiyār Gaṅgaiyarayar, who renovated the temple. It is thus evident that in the time of Parāntaka there already stood, if it was not actually built then, the original shrine, surrounded by a *prākāram* with a cloister in which the minor deities were housed, an arrangement similar to that at the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeevaram. The present shrine, which is a monument

* (*ṇṭṭa* = dance).

of elaborate and exquisitely beautiful architecture was probably built to replace the original shrine in about the second half of the 16th century. The *Amman* shrine standing outside the enclosure is later than the original shrine, but earlier than the present main shrine. From an inscription (P. S. I. 140) of the twelfth year of Rājādhiraja II, mentioning an endowment to the Goddess, it may be inferred that this shrine was in existence in 1179 A. D. The *Amman* shrines, or *Tirukkāmakóttam*, as they are called in records, attached to the temples where the main shrine is of the early Cōla period, are generally of later date.

*The records of the reign *:*

The State inscriptions mention by name some feudatory chiefs and principal officers of Parāntaka. We have mentioned the references to Prince Kōdaṇḍarāma and the officers of his retinue. Kuḍumiyāmalai has 15 inscriptions of Parakésari Parāntaka. P. S. I. 69 mentions a Muttaraiya chief, Viḷuppéraiyaṉ Vēlan Puḡalan of Mannaikkudi, on whose behalf his mother Udaiyaḷ Kavimadi made a gift to the temple. Two records (P. S. I. 63 and 65) mention gifts by an Irukkuvēl chief, Madurāntaka also known as Ādittan Vikramakésari; the chief, as was the custom in those days, assumed his suzerain's title *Madurāntaka* and the name of Āditya Cōla. Ariñjirai Bhaṭṭarān, named after prince Ariñjaya, also known as Valavan Póraiyan of Nīrpaḷani in Uṟattúrkúṟram, figures in P. S. I. 68. No. 67 mentions a Pāṇḍyan princess of Sévalúr—Paṭṭam Padāri Pāṇḍyaḍi Araṣi. Probably she was married to the local chieftain. One of the earliest State records that mention a Pallavarāyar chief—Avantiyakóva Pallavarāyar or Mayilai Tindan, is P. S. I. 70.

* There are 22 inscriptions of this reign in the State,—Nos. 38, 42, 48 to 51, 53, 56, 63, 67 to 75 and 78 to 81. These cover the period from the 2nd to the 38th year of the reign. In the first eighteen, the Ruler is referred to simply as 'Parakésari' without any other title.

Uḍaiyār Vīra Cōlan Uttamaśīlan mentioned in an incomplete inscription at Maḍattukkóvil (P. S. I. 56) may be either the king himself or one of his vassal chiefs who was called after him.

Accan (Ādityan) Mūrti, a minister, Panaiyankúṟṟan, the *Peruñjarpadaittalavan* or commander of the Peruñjār forces, and Kàri, the *Peruñjar Piḍāran*, another military officer, are mentioned in a Munasandai inscription (P. S. I. 71).

RĀJAKĒSARI GAṆḌARĀDITYA (C. 949 to 957 A. D.):

Tonḍaimaṇḍalam was still in the hands of Kṛṣṇa III who parcelled it out among his allies. Gaṇḍarāditya made frantic efforts to retrieve the loss of this province, and succeeded in weaning the Bāṇas from their allegiance to Kṛṣṇa III.

His famous queen Śembiyan Mahādēvi, a very pious lady, survived her husband for many years and lived on till 1001 A. D. She is reputed to have built many stone temples and made endowments to many others already in existence. There is no evidence at present to show that she built any temples in the State.

The three inscriptions in the State that may be assigned to the reign of Gaṇḍarāditya* mention Uḍaiyār Mahimālaya Irukkuvēḷār who was also known as Parāntakan Vīra Cōlan. The title of Uḍaiyār shows that he was an Irukkuvēḷ chief of Koḍumbālur who ruled Kuḍumiyāmalai and Cittūr. His other name Parāntaka Vīra Cōlan shows that he was a vassal of the Cōla Emperor.

PABAKĒSARI ARIṆJAYA (C. 958 to 967 A. D.):

Ariṇjaya followed the policy of his brother Gaṇḍarāditya in giving his daughter in marriage to a Bāṇa king. Little is known of him except that he fell in battle at Āṟṟūr, and he is styled *Āṟṟūrt-tuñjina-dēvar*.

* The three 'Rājakēsari' records P. S. I. 22, 24 and 30 with regnal years 3, 4 and 6.

*RÁJAKÉSARI SUNDARA CÓLA PARÁNTAKA II (C. 956 to 973 A. D.):
AND PARAKÉSARI ĀDITYA II (C. 966 to 969 A. D.):*

Sundara Cōla first directed his attention to the South. Vīra Pāṇḍya had set himself up as an independent ruler in the reign of Gaṇḍarāditya. Āditya, the son of Sundara Cōla, exhibited great heroism in the battle of Cevūr in which Vīra Pāṇḍya sustained a heavy defeat.*

One of the commanders of the Cōla forces was Parāntakan Śīriya Vēlār of Koḍumbālūr. He led the army into the southern Pāṇḍya country, and even crossed over to Ceylon to punish the Ceylonese for helping Vīra Pāṇḍya, and fell in battle there in 959.

In spite of the successes of Āditya and the Cōla generals, Vīra Pāṇḍya was far from being subdued. Sundara Cōla met with better success, however, in the Rāstrakūta wars, and thereby re-established Cōla rule over the territory now forming the districts of South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput. He died in his 'golden palace' at Kāñcīpuram, and was thence known as *Ponmāḷigait-tuñjina dévar*.

Sundara Cōla spent the last four years of his life under the shadow of a great bereavement. His son, Āditya, was assassinated in a palace intrigue, and Sundara was not able to bring the culprits to book. It is believed that Uttama Cōla, the son of Gaṇḍarāditya and cousin of Sundara Cōla, was responsible for the assassination, and on the death of Āditya II, he was recognised as the heir-apparent.

* P. S. I. 82 in the Mucukundésvara temple at Koḍumbālūr mentions Udaiyār Madurāntakar-Sundara Cōlan. As Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri points out, "this unique record disposes of the notion that the title of Madurāntaka (Maduraikoṇḍa) in the records of this period must have been borne only by a son of Parāntaka I. The inscription offers the clue to the correct identity of Maduraikoṇḍa Rājakēsari."—Cōlas—Vol. I, p. 173.

The young Ràja Ràja, who was the natural heir* either felt himself powerless to oppose Uttama Cōla or preferred to wait for the crown until after his death.

Āditya II, though a provincial viceroy in the reign of his father, issued records in his own name and shared his father's royal authority.

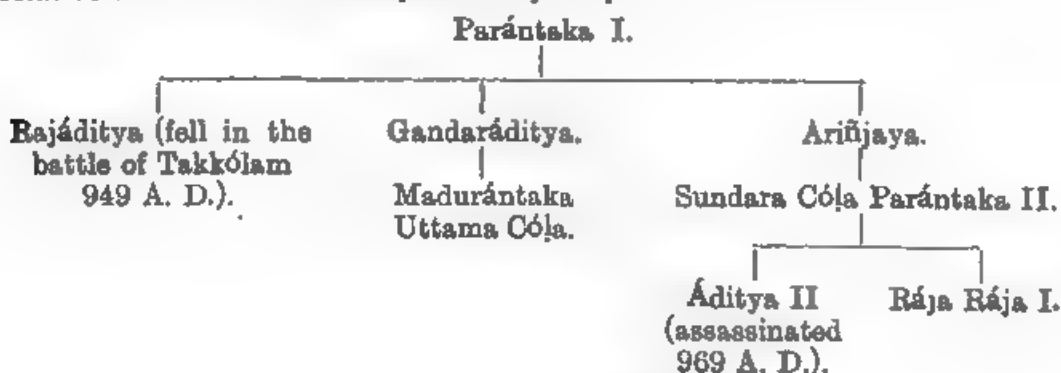
Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has convincingly shown that Parakésari Pārthivéndravarmān, whose name occurs in inscriptions of this period, is none other than Āditya II whose full title was Vīra-Pāṇḍyan-talaikoṇḍa-Pārthivendra-Karikāla-Para-késari Āditya.

The commentary on the *Viracōliyam*, a Buddhist work, eulogises Sundara Cōla. He is there described as a great patron of letters. This is a testimony to the tolerance of the Cōlas, and their friendly attitude towards the Buddhist Saṅgha in Southern India.

PARAKÉSARI UTTAMA CŌLA (C. 970 to 985 A. D.):

Little is known about the reign of Uttama. There are two records of his in the Mélaikkóvil at Kuḍumiyāmalai—P. S. I. 45 and 52† which mention Śembiyan Irukkuvélār, a nobleman or chief of the Irukkuvél family—the allies and vassals of the Cōlas. The first is a grant by Varaguṇanāṭṭi, the queen of Śembiyan who is described as a Muttaraiya princess. This proves

* The following genealogical table will help the reader to understand the relative claims of Uttama Cōla and Ràja Ràja I.



† They belong to the 6th and 10th years of his reign.

that the Irukkuvéls of Koḍumbāḷūr and the Muttaraiyars intermarried. The second record mentions a gift to the same temple by Nangai Nandéviyār, queen of Śembiyan Irukkuvéḷār.

Cóla monuments in the State between C. 950 and 985 A. D.:

The most outstanding monument of this period is the group of three temples at Koḍumbāḷūr known as the Múvarkóvil. The Pallava—grantha inscription (P. S. I. 14) on the south wall of the shrine of the middle temple records that they were built by Vikramakésari, the Véḷir chief, for himself and his two queens, Kaṟṟali and Varaguṇà. There is a reference to a temple of Vikramakésari in a Kanarese inscription (P. S. I. 1086) on three stones now built into the side walls of the tank in front of the Mucukunḍésvara temple at Koḍumbāḷūr. Vikramakésari was the ally and vassal of Sundara Cóla Parāntaka II, and Varaguṇà, one of his queens, was the Cóla king's sister. The temple must therefore have been built in Sundara Cóla's reign between C. 950 and 970 A. D. A detailed description of the Múvarkóvil is given in the Gazetteer.

The other temples of this period are the Agastísvara temple at Vellānūr, the Puspavanésvara temple at Puvālaikkudi and the Vyāgrapuriśvara temple at Tiruvéngaivāsal. The earliest inscription in the Vellānūr temple is No. 25 in the State list, and is dated in the 4th year of a Rajakésari; that in the Puvālaikkudi temple is No. 42 dated in the 5th year of a Parakésari, and refers to certain constructions in the temple; that at Tiruvéngaivāsal* is dated in the 5th year of a Parakésari. We are not able to identify these Rājakésaris and Parakésaris, but from the absence of the names of the kings after the title 'Rājakésari' or 'Parakésari,' we may safely conclude that they were kings of this period earlier than Rāja Rāja I, since from his time onwards the kings recorded both their names and their titles in their inscriptions.

* No. 239, A. R. E. 1914, not published in the State List.

RAJAKÉSARI RÁJA RÁJA I (C. 985-1014 A. D.):

The reign of Ràjakésari Arumolivarman Munmuḍi Cōla-déva also known as Ràja Ràja, the Great, marks the beginning of a century of Cōla ascendancy.

His conquests:

The *prasasti* of the king in the State inscriptions beginning with the words "*tirumakal-pōla*" mentions his conquests. He led more than one expedition to the south to break up the Pāṇḍya-Céra-Sinhālese alliance, and after his victory at Kānda-lūr, he assumed the title *Kānda-lūr-Śālaikkalamaruttu-aruliyā*, meaning, "He who destroyed the fleet in the roadstead of Kānda-lūr," a division of modern Trivandrum town. He then occupied Coorg, and parts of Mysore, and of the Bellary, Salem, Chittoor and North Arcot districts, then known as Nuḷambapāḍi, and conquered Raṭṭapāḍi, the Western Cālukya country. The Tuṅgabhadra formed the boundary between the Cōla and Western Cālukya empires. Veṅgi became a Cōla protectorate and Ràja Ràja cemented the Cōla alliance with the Eastern Cālukyas by marrying his daughter to Vimalāditya of Véngi.

In A. D. 993, he led naval expeditions to Ceylon and the Maldives, and annexed the northern half of the former island which he renamed *Mummudiccōlamāṇḍalam*.

P. S. I. 84 has a variant reading in his *prasasti* which mentions an engagement on the banks of the *Śiruturai** which does not occur in other versions of the *prasasti* found in the State or elsewhere.

Ràja Ràja's vassals, allies and officers—in the State:

P. S. I. 26 of the 7th year of Ràja Ràja's reign mentions a gift of land to the Tiruvagnīśvara temple at Cittūr in the State by a Koḍumbālūr chief Rāsiṅgan Uttama Śīlan also called

* "——*pōḷi ani dīkoḷ śiruturai*" (= the Tuṅgabhadra which flows into the sea, and the banks of which are adorned with groves).

Mummuḍi Cólā Irukkuvéḷ preparatory to his marching with his army on an expedition to the north, evidently into Noḷambapāḍi and Gaṅgapāḍi, now parts of Mysore State. The administration of the charity was entrusted to the officer in charge of the *nāḍu*, Rāsiṅgaṅ Pallavaraiyan also called Parāntakankuñjaramallan. P. S. I. 23 of the 4th year of the reign at Kīḷattanaḷyam records a gift by Rāja Rāja Iḷaṅgóvéḷ, probably of the Koḍumbāḷūr line.

P. S. I. 90 at Tiruviḷāṅguḍi mentions the distribution of the temple land among the temple servants, by the village assembly here known as the *Peruṅguṛi Sabhaiyār*, and the reclamation of certain other land in a deserted hamlet which was overgrown with rank vegetation, and unfit for cultivation owing to breaches in the irrigation tank. These transactions were made under the orders of the Kṣétran or district officer, Uttama Cólā, chief of Kéṛaḷāntakanallūr. The original documents relating to the endowment were reported to have been lost; the *peruṅguṛi sabhā* met on the tank bund, a report was made by the temple trustees on the condition of the land, and the repair of the tank was sanctioned. The hamlet where the land was situated was renamed *Pāśūr Nāṅgai Nallūr*, in honour of the mother of Muḍikoṇḍa Cólā Viḷupparaiyar or Muttaraiyar, also called Pālūr Ambalattāḍi, a general and chief of Uttama Cólā Nallūr, while the tank was named *Attāni Péréri*, evidently in commemoration of the meeting of the *Attāni* or *Sabha* on its bund. Another record in the same place (P. S. I. 89) mentions taxes assessed in very small fractions of the *kāṣu*, such as 1/32 of 1/320 and even smaller fractions. The Kṣétran Uttama Cólā is stated (P. S. I. 90 and 92) to have made an elaborate survey and settlement of this part of the empire. We know from Rāja Rāja's inscriptions elsewhere that in his reign the whole empire was surveyed. A recently discovered inscription on the *piṭham* of a Jain Yakṣi image at Śembāṭṭūr in the State mentions Jayaṅkoṇḍa Cólān, the Múvėndavėḷan or administrator of Kulamaṅgala Nāḍu.

Rāja Rāja's titles :

Rāja Rāja styled himself Rāja Rājakésari in his *prastāsti*. His other titles were (1) *Mummudi Cōla*, (2) *Kṣatriya śikhāmaṇi*, (3) *Jayaṅgonda Cōlendra Simha*, (4) *Śivapādaiśekhara*, (5) *Jananātha*, (6) *Nigarili Cōla*, (7) *Rājendra Simha*; (8) *Cōlamārtāṇḍa*, (9) *Rājamārtāṇḍa*, (10) *Nityavinōḍa*, (11) *Pāṇḍyakulāṇi* (12) *Kēraḷāntaka*, (13) *Śiṅgaḷāntaka*, (14) *Ravikulamāṇikyā* and *Teliṅgakulakāla*. Some of his provinces and districts were named after one or other of his titles. The following provinces covered portions of the Puḍukkōṭṭai State.

1. *Rāja Rāja Valanāḍu* had about seven *kūrṇams* and included the following villages—Tirumapañjēri, Maḷaiyūr, Kōvilūr, Tiruviḍaiyāpaṭṭi, Ambukkōvil, Paḷaṅgarai, Tiruvappūr, Tirugōkarṇam and Kalasamaṅgalaṁ.

2. *Kēraḷāntaka Valanāḍu* comprised modern Kuḷitalai taluk, parts of modern Trichinopoly taluk and parts of the State; the Puḍukkōṭṭai portion was covered by three *kūrṇams*, Uṇattūr, Annaḷvāyil and Ollaiyūr and included the following villages:—Koḍumbālūr, Tiruvilāṅguḍi, Maḍattukkōvil, Paiyūr, Nāṅgupaṭṭi, Nīrpaḷani, Mīnavēli, Ālattūr, Kadavampaṭṭi, Puḍuvayal, Pāppākkuricci, Nārttāmalai, Kīlattāyanallūr, Maḍiyanūr, Irumbāḷi, Āriyūr, Annaḷvāsal, Śāttanūr, Kāraiṇūr, Pūvālaikkūḍi, Mēlattapaṇaiyam, Maṇavāmaḍurai, Kīlattapaṇaiyam, Kaḷḷampaṭṭi, Sundaram, Iḍaiyāṇṇur, Oliyamaṅgalaṁ, Kuḍumiyāmalai, Parambūr, Pinnaṅguḍi, Śevalūr and Kūḍalūr.

3. *Pāṇḍikulāṇanivalanāḍu* had about nine *nāḍus* including Maḷaiyaḍipaṭṭi, Viśalūr, Vāḷuvamaṅgalaṁ, Kīraṇūr, Tiruppūr, Vīrakkūḍi, Nāñjūr, Oḍukkūr, Mōśakūḍi, Kaḷḷikūḍi, Ceṭṭippaṭṭi, Vellaṇūr, Toḍaiyūr, Kunnāṇḍārkōvil, Vārappūr, Śirūṣunai, Śellukūḍi, Perumānāḍu, Tiruvēṅgaivāsal, Śēndamaṅgalaṁ, Tennaṅguḍi, Śembāṭṭūr and Puttāmbūr.

Nārttāmalai, then an important city, was named *Teliṅgakulakālapuram* after one of the titles of Rāja Rāja.

Monuments of the time of Ràja Ràja in the State :*

The earliest inscriptions in the Śiva temples at Kīlattanaṭaiyam (P. S. I. 23), on a tank bund near Mēlattanaṭaiyam (P. S. I. 84), in the ruined Śiva temple at Tiruviḷāṅguḍi, and on a rock near the Kaḍambarkóvil at Nārttāmalai (P. S. I. 91) belong to this reign. P. S. I. 23 at Kīlattanaṭaiyam records a gift by Ràja Ràja Ilaṅgóvél to Śri Uttamadānīśvara, the God of the temple there, and is dated the fourth year of Ràja Ràja's reign (989 A. D.). P. S. I. 84 mentions a grant to the Śiva temple on the foreshore of Āṅgaraikkaṇmāi near Mēlattanaṭaiyam in the 17th year of Ràja Ràja's reign (1002 A. D.). It is probable that these temples were built in the latter half of the 10th century. P. S. I. 89, 90 and 92 at Tiruviḷāṅguḍi or Vikramakésari Caturvédimaṅgalam† are dated the 27th and 28th years of his reign. It appears from these inscriptions that the temple was then flourishing, and it is probable that it was constructed in the latter half of the 10th century. The Kaḍambarkóvil at Nārttāmalai, the earliest inscriptions in which are P. S. I. 86 and 91, belongs to the close of the 10th or the first decade of the 11th century. Two recently-discovered inscriptions, one on the basement of the newly excavated central shrine at Ceṭṭippaṭṭi, and the other on the *pīṭham* of a Yakṣi image on the site of a ruined temple at Śembāṭṭūr, belong to Ràja Ràja's time. The first contains portions of his *prastāsi*, and the second mentions a Múvëndavélan who, as was the practice, assumed one of the titles of the sovereign, namely, Jayaṅgaṇḍa Cōla. Thus there were two Jaina structural temples in the State in Ràja Ràja's time.

* There are 18 inscriptions of Ràja Ràja's reign in the State (P. S. I. 23, 83-89, and 36 besides the two at Ceṭṭippaṭṭi and Śembāṭṭūr). 13 of these have the complete *prastāsi* while 2 have only parts of it. They cover the period from the 4th to the 28th year of his reign.

† Village given to Brahmins versed in the four Vēdas,

PARAKÉSARI RÂJÉNDRA I (1012 to 1044 A. D.):

Râjendra was declared heir apparent in 1012, and shared the administration of the empire with his father till 1014. In 1018, Râjendra appointed his son Râjakésari Râjâdhirâja as *yuvarâja* or heir-apparent, and between 1018 and 1044, father and son carried on the administration and extended their empire. Râjendra's *prasasti*, beginning with the words *tirumannivalara*, gives a summary of his military exploits and conquests, and Râjâdhirâja's records of the years up to A. D. 1044 beginning with the *prasasti* '*tingalér taru*', etc., supplement the account of his father's.

Râjendra's *prasasti*, as recorded in the State inscriptions, mentions the invasions of the Câlukya country by his father, and that by himself in 1021-22. He completed the conquest of Ceylon, and captured the Pândyan regalia and diadem left behind by Râjasimha in his flight, which Parântaka I had failed to secure (See page 582). He also captured the jewelled crown of Kérala.

In about 1018, he nominated one of his sons as viceroy of the Pândya and Kérala countries with the title of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Côla Pândya. The Côla-Pândyas have left a large number of records, one of which is at Perundurai in the State (P. S. I. 242).

He conquered all the important cities in the modern province of Orissa and the Central India Agency, and defeated Mahipâla, the powerful Pâla King of Bengal, and his vassals. In commemoration of his victory on the banks of the Ganges, he renamed his capital *Gaṅgaikondâ Côlapuram*. Another remarkable exploit of Râjendra was a naval expedition to the Malay Peninsula, or Kaḍâram, and Sumatra, or Śri Vijaya, which then formed the empire of the Śailéndras. His forces captured a number of towns and forts from Palembang in Sumatra to the isthmus of Kra in the north. For a fuller account of this expedition, the reader is referred to Prof. Nilakanta

Sastri's account in 'Cólas', Vol. I, pages 254-268, and his identification of the place-names found in the *prastasi*, following Prof. G. Coedès, Directeur de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

In the last years of his reign, the Emperor no longer took the field in person, but his sons were engaged in quelling rebellions in different parts of the empire. The allies of the vanquished Sundara Pàṇḍya, the Ceylonese, and the chiefs of Vénàḍu and other territories in Kéṛaḷa rallied to him, but they were all overcome. By 1042 A. D., the Cālukyas had got back the Raichūr doab, and driven the Cólās from modern Bellary district.

*Rājendra's greatness—the monuments of his reign * :*

His *birudas* were Muḍikoṇḍa Cólā, Paṇḍita Cólā, Vīra-rājendra and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cólā.

Rājendra's reign was the most prosperous period of the Cólā empire. Though only for a short time, a Tamil ruler actually held sway over dominions across the sea, and the considerable overseas trade with China, Farther India and the East Indies was protected by a strong navy. Rājendra founded a new capital *Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cólapuram* where he erected a Śiva temple, which is practically a replica of the Tanjore temple, and a large irrigation tank.

Monuments of Rājendra's time in the State :

The earliest lithic records in the Cólīśvara temple at Parambūr (P. S. I. 99) and the Nāganāthasyāmi temple at Péraiyyūr (P. S. I. 103) belong to Rājendra's reign. At Parambūr, the old Cólā record dated the 17th year of the reign, 1029 A. D., was reinscribed at a later date when the temple was renovated.

* There are 10 inscriptions of Rājendra's reign in the State (P. S. I. Nos. 95-104). In four of them we have the complete *prastasi*. Nos. 96 and 104 narrate events up to the Cālukya wars and the conquest of Raṭṭapāḍi which did not take place before the 13th year of his reign, 98 and 100 have the complete narration of the king's conquests; three contain only parts of the *prastasi*. The inscriptions cover the 3rd to the 26th year of Rājendra's reign.

The date of the Péraiýúr record is not legible. It is probable that the Parambúr and the Péraiýúr temples were constructed towards the close of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century. An *Amman* shrine mentioned in the Tiruvéngaivásal inscription (P. S. I. 100) may have been built about this time. Early Cōla temples of the 9th and 10th centuries had no *Amman* shrines. An inscription of the 13th year of Rājendra's reign at Maḍattukkóvil mentions the construction of a *Nṛttamaṇḍapam* or dancing hall dedicated to Natarāja which is no longer in existence. There is a Cōla-Paṇḍya inscription (P. S. I. 242 of Jatavarman Sundara Cōla Paṇḍya dated 1031-32 A. D.) at Perundurāi; and the temple there may also belong to this period.

RĀJAKĒSARI RĀJĀDHIRĀJA I (C. 1018-1054 A. D.):

Rājādhirāja's *praśasti* beginning with the words *tiṅgaḷértaru* (P. S. I. 108) describes three Cālukya wars. The first was in his father's time; the second in A. D. 1044-6; and the third in 1054 which ended in the decisive engagement at Koppam, where the king while mounted on an elephant was fatally wounded. His brother, Rājendra, however, though also wounded, rallied the retreating Cōla forces, and actually won the battle. Rājādhirāja is referred to by his successors as *Anaimérruñjina*—"He who died on the back of an elephant."

Rājādhirāja's titles were—Vijayarājendra, Vīrarājendra-varman, Āhavamalla kulāntaka and Kalyānapuraṅkoṇḍa Cōla.

Pudukkóṭṭai records of Rājādhirāja's reign* :

From an inscription at Tennaṅguḍi (P. S. I. 107) we learn that there were *araiyars* at Kōraikkuricci and at Puttāmbúr. The inscription describes how these two chiefs, who were previously enemies, became reconciled, and celebrated the event by a gift to the temple. This is the earliest inscription in the temple,

* There are four inscriptions of Rājādhirāja's reign (P. S. I. 105-108) from the 13th to the 30th year. Of these one inscription (108) has the *praśasti*—'*tiṅgaḷér taru, etc.*'

which may have been built in the 10th century.* P. S. I. 108 gives Rājādhirāja's *prasasti* in full, and gives particulars of the lands given to the temple at Tiruvéngaivāsal as *dēvadāna*.

PARAKÉSARI RÁJÉNDRA II (C. 1052 to 1064 A. D.):

Rājéndra was crowned on the battlefield of Koppam. His shorter *prasasti* mentions only his campaign in the Irattāipāḍi or Cālukya country, while the longer begins with *tirumādu puvi-yennum* (P. S. I. 112). There is a third form which begins with *tirumakaḷ maruviya* (P. S. I. 111). The *Kalingattupparaṇi* and *Vikramacōlan ulā* describe his valour at Koppam.

In the Cālukya war of this reign, the crown prince Rājakésari Rājamahéndra and Vīrarājéndra took the field, and the victory is described in the records of each. The Cālukya king was defeated on the banks of *Mudakkāru*. Prof. Sastri thinks that this battle was the same as Kūḍal Śaṅgamam mentioned in Vīrarājéndra's records. In 1054 an expedition was led to Ceylon, in the course of which the Ceylonese army was routed, some princes were put to death and Vijayabāhu forced to take shelter in a mountain fortress.

The crown prince Rājakésari Rājamahéndra died in 1062-3 in the life-time of his father, and Rājakésari Vīrarājéndra the brother of Rājéndra was anointed *yuvarāja*.

Pudukkóttai records of the reign† :

An inscription at Cittūr in the State (P. S. I. 109) mentions the installation and consecration of the image of Candrasékhara-dēva in the temple by a lady named Śadiran Véṇṇagai.

* The original Cōla structure at Tennaṅguḍi has since undergone considerable modification, and the lion pillars and other parts of the ruined 10th century Jaina temple of Śembāṭṭur near by have been utilised in the remodelling.

† There are six inscriptions of this reign (P. S. I. 109-114). The shortest of the three forms of his *prasasti*, giving a brief narration of his victories beginning with that at *Irattapāḍi* is found in Nos. 113 and 114; another slightly more elaborate but having much in common with the first and beginning with *tiru (makaḷ) maruviya*, etc., is given in Nos. 109, 110 and 111, while the third, a longer form, beginning *tiru mādu puvi yennum*, etc., is given in 112. The inscriptions belong to the 3rd and 5th years of his reign.

The inscription is fragmentary, but it appears that she was of a noble family. P. S. I. 112 in the Kaṣambarkóvil at Nàrttāmalai is of great interest. It shows that the town assembly, or *Nagarattār*, distributed the revenue survey and accounts work of the village among themselves. Though their names are incomplete, with the help of S. I. I. No. 22, we can recognize Vānavan Pallavaraiyan, the royal secretary, and Accudan (Acyutan) Rāja Rājan also called Tonḍaimānār, the survey officer. The same inscription gives the names of some Cheṭṭis, most of whom bore the names of Cōla kings. At Nàrttāmalai, then known as Teliṅgakulakālapuram, there were influential Cheṭṭi merchants. A Pūvālaikkudi inscription (P. S. I. 112) mentions a gift to the temple intended to secure merit for two dignitaries of the court styled Attāṇināvar and Attāṇikalan.

RAJAKÉSARI VÍRARAJÉNDRA (C. 1063 to 1069 A. D.):

There are two inscriptions * of this reign in the State, but in neither has the *praśasti* been given.

Vírarājendra helped Vikramāditya, second son of the Cālukya king, Āhavamalla, to overthrow his elder brother Sómésvara and become king of the Western Cālukyas. He married his daughter to Vikramāditya.

Parakésari Adhirājendra déva succeeded his father Vírarājendra in 1070 with the help of his brother-in-law Vikramāditya, but was only on the throne for a few weeks. With his assassination, the direct Cōla line of Vijayālaya became extinct.

Rājendra II, the Eastern Cālukya prince and viceroy of Véṅgi, was three-quarters Cōla by blood. His mother and grandmother were Cōla princesses. His wife Madhurāntaki was

* These are P. S. I. Nos. 115 and 116 of the 7th and 24th years of the reign. The former is a Tamil verse. The year 24 conjecturally supplied in the text is too high for the reign of Vírarājendra. If the figure 24 is correct, it is probable that the inscription is one of Kulóttuṅga I. who also bore the name Vírarājendra.

daughter of the Cōla Rājendra II. It is not known how far he was responsible for the murder of Adhirājendra, whom he succeeded in 1070 under the title of Kulóttuṅga I or 'the reviver of the line.'

Pudukkóttai records of the reign :

P. S. I. 115 at Vellānūr mentions the construction of an *ardhamandapam* in the temple there by Muḍikonḍa Nāḍālvār, a chief of Śiruvāy, the son of Mālan, head of the Kaḷḷa community, who styles himself the protector of the Cōla crown. Probably he was a general.

Resume :

The empire of the Cōlas of the Vijayālaya line was one of the greatest Hindu empires known to history; and the territory now included in the Pudukkóttai State contributed materially to its growth. This territory gave to the empire soldiers and commanders, administrators, revenue officials and surveyors. It was the home of merchants who carried on trade all over India and the Far East. The towns and villages were administered by their own assemblies. Though the Cōlas lavished their resources on the irrigation channels of the deltaic regions, rain-fed areas such as Pudukkóttai were not neglected but received due attention, and the State records speak of repairs and reconstructions of irrigation sources. The Vellāḷa cultivators seem to have led a happy and prosperous life, and were able to make donations to temples and charities. Several temples, Hindu and Jain*, were built in Pudukkóttai during this period, and though none of them is comparable in grandeur to the *Rāja Rājésvaram* at Tanjore or the *Cōḷésvaram* at Gangaikonda Cōlapuram, they are interesting examples of Cōla art, and of interest alike to the artist and the archæologist. Details of the Cōla system of administration are given later in this section.

* There are remains of two Jain structural temples in the State of the time of Rāja Rāja I, one at Cheṭṭipatti, and the other at Śembáttūr.

THE VÉLÍRS—THE IRUKKUVÉLS.

There is a legend in the *Puranánūru* (No. 201) which tells how the *Vélir* came out of the sacrificial fire-pit of a sage from Northern India, and reigned for forty-nine generations over Tuvarai, which commentaries on the Saṅgam poems identify with Dvāraka in Gujarat, but modern historians with Dvārasmudra in Mysore. Naccinārkkiniyar, the commentator, adds that eighteen families of Vélírs came south with Agastya, and established their rule in different parts of Tamiḷakam. Some of them were connected with the Pudukkóṭṭai State. Véḷ Evvi who ruled over the Mīlalai and Muttúrrukkúṟrams, corresponding to the eastern and southern parts of the State and the adjacent parts of the present Tanjore district, was defeated by the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjéliyan, the hero of the battle of Talaiyālaṅgaṇam (see page 531 above).

The most renowned of the ancient Véḷ chiefs was Véḷ Pāri, whose name was celebrated in Saint Sundaramūrti's *Tévāram*. He was highly praised by the poets for his benevolence and patronage of men of letters. He is believed to have lived in the second century A. D., and his territories, known as *Paṟambunāḍu*, were situated in *Pāṇḍināḍu*.* M. E. R. 136 of 1903—† (S. I. I. Vol. VIII. No. 423) mentions that Tiruvāḍavūr in the Mēlūr taluk of the Madura district belonged to South Paṟambunāḍu. Inscription No. 435 in the same volume mentions a temple called *Pārisvaram* in Pirāṇmalai on the south-western border of the Pudukkóṭṭai State. It is probable that Véḷ Pāri's territories included Pirāṇmalai and parts of the modern Ponnarāvati Revenue *Firka*. Pāri was 'invincible,' and the Tamil kings, despairing of ever slaying him in open battle, brought about his death by stratagem. On his death, his friend, the bard Kapilar, offered Pāri's daughter in marriage to Irungóvéḷ Evvi, but since he refused to wed her, she was married to a Brāhmin. ‡

* S. I. I. (= South Indian Inscriptions). Vol. VIII, Preface page iv.

† M. E. R. = Madras Epigraphical Reports.

‡ *Puṟam*.

The only Vélir family about whom we have much information is that of the Irukkuvéls, who ruled over Koḍumbālūr in the Kónaḍu. They claim to belong to the Yādava clan, and hence one of them, named Samarābhirāma, was styled *Yaduvamsakētu*.

The *Periyapurānam* gives a brief account of another named *Idaṅgaḷināyanār*, who ranks as one of the 63 Śaiva saints, and in whose family was born Āditya, who may be identified with Āditya Cōla I, father of Parāntaka I. On the south wall of the central shrine of the Múvarkóvil at Koḍumbālūr, there is a Sanskrit inscription (P. S. I. No. 14) in Grantha characters, the opening verses of which give a genealogical table which starts from a chieftain whose name is lost, who "vanquished the Pāṇḍya elephants." A descendant of his was Paravīrajit, who was succeeded by Vīratuṅga, the conqueror of Maḷava or Maḷa-nāḍu which lay between the modern Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts, probably extending as far as Kollimalai. Ativīra Anupamā, Sanghakṛit, Nṛpakésari and Paradurgamardhana, conqueror of Vātāpi, are then mentioned. The last-named was succeeded by Samarābhirāma Yaduvamsakētu, who married Anupamā, a Cōla princess, and killed the Caḷukki at the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala or Tiruvādi in the Tanjore district. *Caḷukki* here does not refer to the Cālukyas, but means a local chieftain.* Bhūti Vikramakésari, who is mentioned in the inscription at Kodumbālūr referred to above, was his son.

The Múvarkóvil inscription gives the Sanskrit *prastāvi* of the chiefs and not their names, and it is therefore difficult to identify the Irukkuvéḷ chiefs, mentioned in the inscriptions in the State and in the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts, with the names in this list. An inscription at Ténimalai (P. S. I. 9) assignable on palæographic grounds to about the eighth century A. D., mentions an Irukkuvéḷ who honoured a Jain ascetic, Malayadhvaja by name, and made an endowment for his maintenance.

* The Tamil word *Śaḷukki* means a local chieftain (*Kurunila mannar*). K. A. N. Sastri, J. O. R. VII, 1933—pp. 1-10.

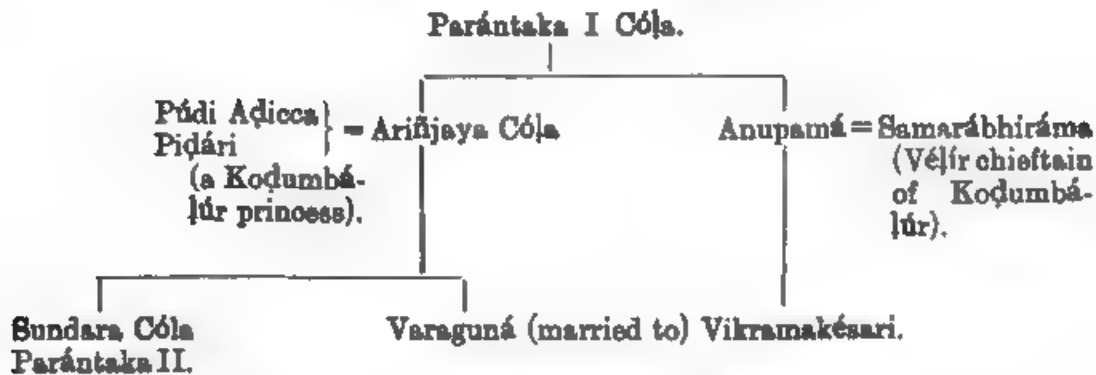
P. S. I. 63 and 65 at Kuḍumiyāmalai, of the twenty-first year of the reign of a Parakésari believed to be Parāntaka I (928 A. D.) mention Maḍurāntaka Irukkuvēḷ also known as Accan or Ādittan Vikramakésari or Tennavan Irukkuvēḷār. He was a contemporary of Rājakésari Āditya I and Parakésari Parāntaka I, and his daughter Ādicca (Ādittan) Piḍāri was married to Arikulakésari, a son of Parāntaka I.

Another Irukkuvēḷ contemporary of Parāntaka I and of Gaṇḍarāditya was Mahimālaya Irukkuvēḷ, also called Parāntaka Vīra Cōḷan or Kuñjaramallan. P. S. I. 22 at Kuḍumiyāmalai, of the third year of Rājakésari Gaṇḍarāditya, corresponding to 951-952 A. D., refers to a gift by Tirai Amman Uḍaiyāl, a female relative of the Uḍaiyār or chief Mahimālaya Irukkuvēḷ. P. S. I. 24 records a gift of land by this chief to the Tiruvagnīśvara temple at Cittūr. P. S. I. 30 at Nīrpaḷani records a gift to the temple made by this chief at his camp at Tiruppalātturai in the Trichinopoly district. P. S. I. 255 is another of his records, but it was later reinscribed by Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I in 1221 A. D. It mentions the chief's title *Kuñjaramallan*.

The Vēḷḷr chiefs of Koḍumbālūr aided Parāntaka I in his Pāṇḍyan campaigns. The Śinnamanūr plates of the sixth year of Pāṇḍya Rājasimha (C. 916 A. D.) give an exaggerated account of a surprise Pāṇḍyan victory at Koḍumbālūr.

It is not known whether Mahimālaya and Maḍurāntaka belonged to the main ruling family of Koḍumbālūr or to a collateral one.

Bhūti Vikramakésari of the Múvarkóvil inscription referred to above, was also known as Tennavan Iḷangóvéḷār or Māraṇ Púḍiyār, or Parāntaka Iḷangóvéḷār, and was a contemporary of Rājakésari Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II (C. 956 A. D. to 973 A. D.) and Parakésari Āditya II (C. 956-969 A. D.). Vikramakésari was an ally and vassal of the Cōḷa emperor, and, as the following genealogical table shows, was closely connected with the Cōḷa royal family.



From this grant we learn that Bhúti Vikramakésari took a prominent part in the campaigns against Vira Pāṇḍya. It is further claimed that the Vélir chieftain defeated the Pallava forces on the banks of the Kàvéri, and put an end to the Vañcivél.* The Pallavas mentioned here could not have been the Pallavas of Kāñci, since the Simhaviṣṇu line of Pallava rulers had already ceased to rule. They may have been the Pallavarāyars who had then come into prominence or, as Prof. Sastri surmises,† the expression *Pallavasyadhvajinyah* in the inscription might be read as *Vallabhasyadhvajinyah* meaning Vallabha or Rāstrakúta forces under Kṛṣṇa III who invaded the Cólā country towards the close of the reign of Parántaka I. The Múvarkóvil inscription mentions that Vikramakésari built three temples to Śiva in his own name and those of his two wives—Kaṛṇālī and Varaguṇā, built a monastery to an ascetic of the Kālamukha‡ sect of Saivism, and endowed villages to the temple and the monastery.

Vikramakésari had two sons by Kaṛṇālī, Parántaka and Adityavarman. Prince Parántaka Śiriyavélār headed an expedition to Ceylon during the Pāṇḍyan campaigns of Sundara Cólā, and there died in battle in C. 959 A. D.

Śembiyan Irukkuvélār, also called Púdi Parántaka, was a contemporary of Parakésari Uttama Cólā. P. S. I. 45 dated

* It may be that the name Vañcivél refers to Pāṇḍya Rājasimha who burnt Vañci.

† J. O. R. Vol. VII, page 7.

‡ Kālamukhas or Asītarakras were extreme Saivites.

975-76 A. D. mentions a gift to the Mélaikkóvil at Kuḍumiyàmalai by one of Śembiyan Irukkuvél's queens—Varagunaṇaṭṭi, the daughter of a Muttaraiyar. This record and P. S. I. 31 which mentions the elder sister of a Vikramakésari, who married Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyar, show that the Irukkuvéls and the Muttaraiyars intermarried. P. S. I. 52 records a gift to the Mélaikkóvil by another queen of Śembiyan Irukkuvélàr.

It is not known whether Śembiyan Irukkuvélàr is identical with Vikrama or Vira Cōla Ilangóvélar who married a daughter of Paḷuvéṭṭaraiyar, and is mentioned in an inscription at Uyyakkonḍan Tirumalai in the Trichinopoly district (470 of 1908, S. I. I. iii-98) dated in the tenth year of the reign of a Parakésari who may be identified with Uttama Cōla.

P. S. I. 23 at Kīlattapaian, of the fourth year of the reign of Rāja Rāja I (C. 989-990 A. D.) records a gift by Rāja Rāja Ilangóvélar. Here again it is doubtful whether this Ilangóvélar is the same as Mummuḍi Cōla Irukkuvél, also called Irasiṅgan Uttama Śīlan mentioned in P. S. I. 26 at Cittūr as having made a gift to the God, thereafter joining the Cōla army at Koḍumbālūr, preparatory to marching northwards to Nolambapāḍi in modern Mysore. Mummuḍiccōla is a title of Rāja Rāja I. Rasiṅgan was the name of a Cēra king, and the chief probably bore it to commemorate his victory over him.

An inscription of the seventh year of Rājendra I (1019-1020 A. D.) at Uyyakkonḍan Tirumalai (97 of 1892, S. I. I. iv, 544) speaks of a gift made by Śōlai Irāyasiṅgam, to secure merit for her mother Dévan Perṇanai, the queen of Rājendra Cōla Irukkuvélàr. Nothing more is known of this chief.

Up to the eleventh century, the Véḷir chieftains of Koḍumbālūr were the staunch allies of the Cōlas, fought against their enemies, and were closely connected with the Cōla royal family by marriage alliances. They bore the names and surnames of their Cōla overlords.

We do not hear much of them after the reign of Rājendra I. The outstanding monument of the Irukkuvēls in the State is the Múvarkóvil at Koḍumbāḷūr. The Mucukundéśvara temple there, mentioned in one of the inscriptions as *Tiruppúdisvaram** is another Irukkuvēl monument of the early Cōla type. One of the Múvarkóvil, the one built in the name of the king,—in all probability the central one—is referred to in the Kanarese inscription (P. S. I. 1086) as *Vikramakésari'svaram*.

THE CÓLA EMPIRE (CONTINUED). THE CÓLA-CĀLUKYA LINE.
RĀJAKÉSARI KULÓTTUṆGA I (C. 1070-1122 A. D.†):

The Eastern Cālukya, Rājendra II, Viceroy of Veṅgi, assumed the name of Kulóttuṅga I on his accession to the Cōla throne. Before he could establish himself on his new throne, he had to repel the invasion of Vikramāditya VI, the Western Cālukya prince, who was eager to avenge the murder of his brother-in-law Adhirājendra (see page 599 above). Kulóttuṅga's success was due to the help given him by Vikramāditya's brother Sóméśvara.

Towards the close of the 11th century, Kulóttuṅga led two expeditions into Kalinga, which are described in the poetical work *Kalingattupparani*. The second expedition was led by an intrepid general, Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān.

There were troubles in the Pāṇḍya country. Cōla administration came to a standstill while Kulóttuṅga was engaged in the north, and the Pāṇḍya and Cēra princes began to reassert

* *Púdi*, the Tamil form of *Bhūti*, was the title of Vikramakésari, and evidently his family name. The title *Púdi* (= *Bhūti* in Sanskrit) is associated with the names of many Irukkuvēl chiefs and their queens, and sometimes with the names of places with which they were connected (e. g. *Púdiváykkál*—S. I. I. VIII, No. 550)—See. S. I. I. VIII Nos. 554, 560, from Tiruppaláttuṇai in Trichinopoly District, Nos. 601, 604, 608, 616, 618, 621, 623, 624, 626 and 627 from Tiruchendur in the same district, and No. 668 from Andanallūr in the same district. No. 555 from Tiruppaláttuṇai and 602 from Tiruchendur mention the Tiruppúdisvaram shrine at Koḍumbāḷūr.

† See K. A. N. Sastri: 'Cōlas' Vol. II, pages 48-49 and footnote on p. 127.

their independence. Kulóttuṅga had to reconquer the Pàṇḍya and Céra nāḍus. He was not able to restore the Cōla administrative machinery, but had to rest content with establishing military colonies * in the south. Vijayabāhu of Ceylon succeeded in re-capturing the whole island.

Kulóttuṅga sent an embassy to China, and in his turn received one from Śrī Vijaya. That there was a growing volume of trade between the Cōla country and the Far East is borne out by a fragmentary Tamil inscription of 1088 A. D. in Loeboe Toewa in Sumatra, which mentions the name of a celebrated merchant guild or corporation of South India, the *Tisai-āyirattu-Aiññāruvar*, which Prof. Sastri translates as "the Five Hundred of the thousand (districts) in the (four) quarters." Inscriptions in the Pudukkōṭṭai State mention the charities of this guild in the State (See page 578 above).

His praśastis :

Kulóttuṅga styled himself *Tirubhuvana Cakravartin* (the ruler of the three worlds). There are a number of his *praśastis*, but the one most usual in the State inscriptions begins *pukaḷmādu viḷaṅga* or *virumba*.

Vassals, officers, etc.

A Palamaṇḍalappéraraiyar and his brother Aṇukkan are mentioned in a Tirukkattalai inscription (P. S. I. 118). *Palamaṇḍalappéraraiyar* is a title which means 'the great chief of many maṇḍalams.' Who he was is not known. Another inscription at the same place (P. S. I. 119) mentions Rājendra Cōlamaṅgala Nāḍālvān, also known as Araiyan Śendan, Araiyan of Kaṇkuricci. Vikramacōla Pallavataraiyan is mentioned in P. S. I. 121 as the chief of Véśalippāḍippakkam in Rājendra Cōla Vaḷanāḍu. P. S. I. 124 mentions Aḷagukaṇḍa Perumāl Nāḍālvān, the chief of Perumbūdanāḍu or Irumbānāḍu.

* *Nilappaḍai*.

*Inscriptions of the reign in the State :**

P. S. I. 122 at Kalasakkāḍu, east of modern Pudukkóttai town, mentions the Nagarattār, who constituted either the Town assembly or a merchant guild. A Kuḍumiyāmalai record (P. S. I. 125) mentions two Brahmins from the Telugu country, brokers in the betel trade, who made endowments for the daily offering of betel and areca-nuts to the God there, and the grant was entrusted to the Town Assembly and the battalions † stationed there. The Town Assembly of Nārttāmalai is mentioned in an inscription of this reign also. P. S. I. 126 records a royal grant to the Agastīśvara temple of Irumbānāḍu, and recites the terms of the grant and the officers concerned with it. P. S. I. 127 in the Svayamprakāśamūrti temple at Iḍaiyāttūr is a re-inscription of an old record of the fifth year of a Parakésari, probably Parantaka I. This temple, originally built in the time of Parāntaka I, may have been renovated in this reign. The Sundarāja Perumāḷ Kóvil and the Agastīśvara temple at Irumbānāḍu are mentioned for the first time in the records of this reign. They probably belong to the 11th century.

PARAKÉSARI VIKRAMA CÓLA (C. 1118-1135 A. D.): ‡

Vikrama's *prasastis* do not record any political event other than victories won in the Kaliṅga and Telugu countries during the period of his Viceroyalty in Veṅgi.

Vikrama succeeded in partially stemming the Western Cālukya advance over Veṅgi, and re-established his rule over the southern half of the tract.

* Ten inscriptions may be assigned to this reign—P. S. I. 117-119, 121-122, 124-127, and an unpublished inscription at Nārttāmalai, J. O. R. Vol. VIII, pp. 26-28; 1934. These range from the sixth to the fifty-second year of the reign.

† The '*mānṛupaḍai-porkóvil Kaikkólar*' and the *nilappaḍai Paḷiyili Aīññārruvar*.

‡ P. S. I. 128 is the only inscription of this reign in the State.

RĀJAKĒSARI KULÓTTUŅGA II (C. 1133 to 1150 A. D.):

Kulóttuṅga II became heir-apparent about the year 1133—two years before his father's death. His *prasastis* do not record any wars or expeditions, and his reign was peaceful. His records mention that he was a devout worshipper of the God Naṭarāja at Chidambaram.

Kulóttuṅga is identified with Anapāya, mentioned in the *Periyapurāṇam* as the king who 'covered the Pérambalam or inner shrine of the Chidambaram temple, with fine gold.' The king was at first a great admirer of the Jain epic poem *Jīva-lacintāmaṇi*, but Sékkiḷār later weaned him from his Jaina propensities and composed at his request the *Periyapurāṇam*, the epic history of the sixty-three Śaiva saints, at least two of whom belonged to the modern state of Pudukkóṭṭai. (See pages 573-4 above).

Vassals, officers, etc.:

A Maḍattukkóvil record (P. S. I. 129) mentions a chieftain, Tirucciṟṟambalam Uḍaiyān Védavanamuḍaiyān of Paiyūr*. He is perhaps the same Tirucciṟṟambalam Uḍaiyān of Uṟattūr who figures as the vendee in P. S. I. 212 at Nīrpaḷani.

Anapāya Nāḍāḷvān, a lord of Irumbāḷi, as the record describes him, figures in P. S. I. 123. P. S. I. 147 in the Cólśvara temple at Ponnamarāvati mentions the chief Rājendra Cōlan Kéraḷan Niṣadarājan. The Niṣadarājas of Ponnamarāvati and those of Tirukkoḍuṅkkunṟam—the modern Pirāṇmalai, were connected by marriage as other State records show.

Inscriptions of the reign:†

Another record, P. S. I. 120 in the Gókarṇésvara temple Tirugókarṇam, mentions a Brāhmin family who had emigrated

* If he was a Pallavaraya, he may be identified with Kárigaikulattūr Tirucciṟṟambalam Uḍaiyān, also called Perumānambi, who placed Rājadhiraja II, on the throne, and distinguished himself in the Pāṇḍyan wars.

† P. S. I. 120, 123, 129, 147 and 212 may be assigned to this reign: and they range from the ninth to the thirteenth year.

from Tuvaraimànar * and enjoyed the privilege of placing the crown on the heads of the Cōla rulers at their coronation.

PARAKÉSARI RÁJA RÁJA II (C. 1146 to 1173 A. D.):

Ràja Ràja shared the administration of the empire with his father from 1146 until he became sole ruler in 1150. His *prasastis* describe him as a great patron of Tamil, and style him *muttamilkkut-talaivan*†, the patron of the 'three-fold' Tamil, as Prof. Sastri translates it.

His empire nominally extended as far as the Gódàvari in the north, and eastern Mysore in the north-west. But a process of attrition had begun within the empire. The central authority had considerably weakened, and the vassals, as inscriptions prove, had succeeded in usurping royal authority.

Vassals, officers, etc.

A notable chieftain of this reign mentioned in State inscriptions was Kulóttuṅga Cōla Kaḍambaràyan, also called Tannan Edirillàpperumàl or the Lord who had no rival, Viceroy of Uṟattúrkúṟram in Irattapàdi Koṇḍa Cōla Valanàḍu. He made grants to the temples at Kuḍumiyàmalai (P. S. I. 135, 181 and 188) and at Maḍattukkóvil (P. S. I. 138). Among the signatories of another Kuḍumiyàmalai inscription (P. S. I. 182), which is a royal grant, was the Uḍaiyār of Paḷaiyanūr, who may perhaps be identified with Annan Pallavaràyan, also called Paḷaiyanúruḍaiyàn-védavanam-uḍaiyàn—Ammayappan, who distinguished himself in the next reign. The same record also mentions a Tonḍaiman who was a high official in the Revenue Department. Four inscriptions mention Ràjendra Cōlan Kéralan Niṣadaràjan, chief of Ponnamaravati.‡

* See page 601 above.

† *Muttam*! here means *iya*! (prose and poetry), *iṣai* (that which is set to music—musical compositions) and *nāṭakam* (drama).

‡ See page 614 below for the Niṣadaràjans of this period.

*Inscriptions of the reign.**

The inscriptions relate mostly to grants to temples, either by the village or town assemblies or by merchants or chiefs. P. S. I. 186 at Kunnàṇḍàrkóvil records an agreement of the *nāttars* of the adjacent villages to impose a fine of one *ma* of cultivable land on persons guilty of offences against person or property.

RAJAKESARI RAJADHIRAJA II (C. 1163 to 1179 A. D.):

As there was no prince in the direct male line to succeed Ràja Ràja II, Ràjàdhiràja, a grandson of Vikrama Còla by a daughter, became king.

After Kulóttuṅga I's death, the Còla-Pàṇḍya viceroys ceased to exercise any real authority over the Pàṇḍyan country, and Pàṇḍyan princes, set up independent principalities. Towards the close of the reign of Ràja Ràja II, the succession to the rulership of Madura was disputed by two princes. One of them, Paràkrama, enlisted Ceylonese help, and his rival, Kulaśékhara, appealed to the Còla emperor for help. On the death of Paràkrama, his son Vira Pàṇḍya, with the help of a large Ceylonese army, defeated Kulaśékhara at Kīlānilaya (modern Kīlānilai in the State) and Ponnamarāvati, and crowned himself king at Madura. The Còla emperor Ràjàdhiràja then sent his General Anṇan Pallavarāyan to wrest Madura from Vira Pàṇḍya and place Kulaśékhara on the throne, which he successfully accomplished. But the treacherous Kulaśékhara made peace with Ceylon, and drove the Maṇava chieftains who were loyal to the Còlas across the Veḷḷar. Anṇan Pallavarāyan thereupon marched again on Madura, deposed Kulaśékhara and replaced Vira Pàṇḍya on the throne. To commemorate these expeditions, Ràjàdhiràja assumed the title of *Maduraiyum*

* P. S. I. 131 to 137, 181, 182, 184, 186-188 and 190, may be assigned to the second to the nineteenth years, of this reign.

Īlamum bonḍaruḷina meaning—"He who was pleased to take Madura and Ceylon." *

Vassals, Officers, etc. †

The Pallavarāya general Anṇan, also called Palaiyanūr Uḍaiyān-Védavanam Uḍaiyān Ammaiappan, mentioned in the Kuḍumiyāmalai record (P. S. I. 182) of the previous reign, distinguished himself in the Madura campaigns as narrated above. Another officer of high rank was Kulóttuṅga Cōḷa Kidāratṭaraiyan, also called Śādiran Irāśan, Araiyaṛ of Kunṛiyūr naḍu, who made a grant to the temple at Pinnaṅguḍi (P. S. I. 141), and consecrated an image in the Tiruvéṅgaivāśal temple, and instituted a festival at which plays were acted (P. S. I. 139).

PARAKÉSARI KULÓTTUṅGA III (C. 1178 to 1228 A. D.)

The disruption of the Cōḷa empire had begun, but Kulóttuṅga III's personal ability put off the final catastrophe. He tried to weld together the different provinces, but not with much success; and before his death, the Pāṇḍyan kingdom had become really independent and powerful, and threatened to overcome the Cōḷa empire.

Two inscriptions from the Pudukkóttai State (P. S. I. 163 and 166) are unique among all his known records since they give a more or less complete account of Kulóttuṅga's military career, and add considerably to the information given by his numerous inscriptions elsewhere. The *prasasti* that they embody records the improvements made by the king to the Chidambaram, Tṛbhuvanésvaram, Rāja Rājesvaram and other temples, his northern campaign against Veṅgi and the recapture of Kāñcīpuram. The three campaigns of the Pāṇḍyan war are then mentioned. In the first, Kulóttuṅga

* "The inclusion of Īlam (Ceylon) in the title must be understood only as a claim to that kingdom like that set up by the English kings to the throne of France, or as merely indicative of the military successes achieved by the Cōḷa ruler against the Ceylonese."—Prof. Sastri: 'Cōḷas' Vol. II, p. 107.

† P. S. I. 138-141 and 208 recording grants from the second to the

^h year may be assigned to this reign.

deposed Vīra Pāṇḍya and placed Vikrama Pāṇḍya, the successor of Kulasékhara on the throne. This campaign must have been undertaken some time before 1182, in which year the king assumed the title of *Maduraiyum Pāṇḍiyan-muḍittalaiyum koṇḍarūḷiya* meaning—"He who was pleased to take Madura and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya." * Vīra Pāṇḍya made an effort to recover his kingdom, but was defeated at Neṭṭūr; he then sought refuge at Quilon and at last surrendered. This campaign was undertaken some years before 1189. The records then mention Kulóttuṅga's conquest of Ceylon, and the capture of Karuvūr in the Koṅgu campaign, after which the king wore the *viḷayamuḍi* or 'crown of Victory.' Then to win the *viramuḍi* or 'crown of Valour' he set out against the Pāṇḍya for the third time, invested and captured Madura, demolished the coronation-hall of the Pāṇḍyas, ploughed its site with donkeys and sowed *kavadi* or coarse millet on it. After a triumphal procession round the city, he worshipped the God of Madura. He finally restored the kingdom to the Pāṇḍya. This campaign must have taken place about 1205, and the Pāṇḍya king must have been Jaṭavarman Kulasékhara, the date of whose accession has been fixed as 1190.

The Pāṇḍya-Kéṛala-Sinhalese alliance had all along defied Cōḷa authority in the south, and had never been completely broken, notwithstanding the frequent victorious campaigns of the Cōḷa monarchs. Maṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, the brother and successor of Jaṭavarman Kulasékhara, assured of the help of his allies, carried the war into the Cōḷa country as far as Chidambaram, leaving behind a trail of plunder and carnage. Kulóttuṅga III fled, but was finally restored to the Cōḷa throne on his acknowledging Sundara Pāṇḍya as his overlord. This war, which occurred about 1218, practically marks the end of the Cōḷa empire. The Cōḷa power would have become extinct but for the intervention of the Hoysālas.

* This is evidently an exaggeration. Perhaps what was meant was that he captured the Pāṇḍya Crown.

*Vassals, officers, etc. :—**

Kulóttuṅga Cólā Kaḍambaràyan, also called Tannan Edirilapperumāl, figures in this reign as a donor to the temples at Sàttanūr (P. S. I. 146), Kuḍumiyāmalai (P. S. I. 151), Maḍattukóvil (P. S. I. 130) and Kàraiyr (P. S. I. 157). The Kulóttuṅga Cólā Kaḍambaràyan Terṇan Araisarkaḷ Añjāppirandān, meaning 'he of vast knowledge and a terror to enemy kings' mentioned in a Vayalógam inscription (P. S. I. 178) is perhaps a different Kaḍambaràya chieftain. Kulóttuṅga Cólā Kiḍàrattaraiyar is referred to in P. S. I. 159, a Pinnāgudi record. P. S. I. 155 is a royal grant signed by a number of chiefs and officers, among whom were Aḷagiya Cólā Tenkavirnāṭṭu Múvenda Véḷān, and Tennavan Pallava-daraiyan. Laṅkéśvara, an officer under Ràja Ràja II and Kulóttuṅga III, is mentioned in a Kóṭṭaiyūr inscription (P. S. I. 220). A Pillai (prince) Cólākónār is mentioned in an Annavāśal inscription (P. S. I. 172). Vāṇadaraiyan, a Bāṇa administrator, is mentioned in a Sérānūr inscription (P. S. I. 163) and a Tonḍaimān in two inscriptions P. S. I. 163 and 153.

The *Niṣadarājans* appear to have ruled over the south-west of the State and the surrounding country. The State inscriptions refer to two Niṣadarāja families, one of which ruled in Ponnamarāvati, and the other in Tirukkoḍuṅkunṇam-(modern Pirānmalai). P. S. I. 174 (1217 A. D.) mentions a Pirāṭṭiyālvār (royal devotee) Kaṇṇuḍaya Perumāl who calls herself the daughter of Niṣadarājan Kéralāṇḍār, chief of Ponnamarāvati, and the queen of the Niṣadarājan chief of Pirānmalai. The Ponnamarāvati chief was Rajendra Cólān Kéralān, also called Vīman Rājendra. In 1154 A. D. he built the *Vimānam* of the Rājendra Cólāśvaram-temple at Ponnamarāvati, installed and consecrated the *lingam*, and made arrangements for the daily service.

* 39 inscriptions in the State may be assigned to this reign P. S. I. 130, 143—46, 148—80 and 220 extending from the second to the fortieth year of the reign.

He installed the goddess at Kaḷḷampaṭṭi and made grants to the Śāttanūr temple. Nilamaiyāḷagiya * dévan Niṣadarājan was the chief of Pirāṇmalai referred to in the records of this period. He made grants to the temple of the Goddess at Kaḷḷampaṭṭi, to the Idāiyāttūr temple, and to a monastery at Ponnamarāvati.

P. S. I. 245 of the 23rd year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya Jaṭavarman Kulasékhara I, (1212-13) refers to Tirukkoḍuṅkunram Uḍaiyān Kéralan, of Ponnamarāvati, the lord of Pirāṇmalai. . This record read with P. S. I. 174 (1217 A. D.) leads to the belief that the two Niṣadarāja families of Ponnamarāvati and Pirāṇmalai were united under the same chief at the beginning of the 13th century.

Kulóttuṅga III was a great temple-builder, and a number of temples in the State were built in his reign. P. S. I. 158 at Kaḍambarkóvil, Nārttāmalai, mentions for the first time that the lands belonging to the Arhardévar or Tīrthaṅkara of the monastery of Tirumānamalai were sold to a Hindu merchant and made tax-free on his endowing them to the temple.

RĀJAKĒSARI RĀJA RĀJA III (C. 1216 to 1257 A. D.). †

The Hoysālas in the north-west and the Pāṇḍyas in the south were the chief powers in South India. The Telugu Cōḷas, a branch of the Cōḷa house, held sway in Nellore and the adjoining country. The Kāḍavas, a branch of the Pallavas, had waxed powerful in Kūḍalūr and Śéndamaṅgalam in the modern South Arcot district. Rāja Rāja was a weak king, and under him, the Cōḷa empire suffered further reverses. He broke the terms of the treaty with Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I and went to war with him. Sundara Pāṇḍya drove back the Cōḷa army, captured the Cōḷa capital, and drove out Rāja Rāja. Kópperuñjīṅga, the most powerful of the Kāḍava chieftains,

* Also called *Vīramaḷagiya* in some inscriptions in the Ramnad District.

† P. S. I. 183, 185, 193—196, 198 and 199 ranging from the second to the thirtieth year may be assigned to the reign of Rāja Rāja III.

captured the Cólā king and kept him a prisoner till he was released and regained his throne with the help of the Hoysàlas.

Vassals, officers, etc :—

A Péraiyúr inscription (P. S. I. 193) mentions Srimàn Mahà-pradāni Meycatrukāṇḍan Sāmantan, chief, general and minister. *Meycatrukāṇḍan* means 'destroyer of personal enemies.' He was perhaps the officer who was to subdue the treacherous vassals and chiefs who rose in rebellion in the reign of Rājendra III, and safe-guard the person of the king. Kaliṅgarāyan, also called Tiruvan Araiapperumāl (P. S. I. 194), Kiṭṭarattaraiyan, also called Tiruvuḍaiyān Uḍaiapperumāl, and Tirubhuvana Vīra Kiṭṭarattaraiyan also called Tiruvuḍaiyān Vīramālagiyadēvan, (P. S. I. 195) are other officers mentioned in the State inscriptions.

*PARAKÉSAI RÁJÉNDRA III (C. 1246 to 1279 A. D.).**

Rājendra III was an abler king than Rāja Rāja III. He avenged the humiliation that had been inflicted on his house by defeating Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (acc. 1238) who had none of the abilities of Māṇavarman Sundara I. The Hoysàla king, hitherto the ally of the Cólās, now lent his support to the Pāṇḍyas, and Rājendra turned to the Telugu Cólās of Nellore for help.

The accession of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I in 1251 marked the rise of the Pāṇḍyan empire to the hegemony of South India. The Hoysàlas once more allied themselves with the Cólās in order to stem the tide of Pāṇḍyan expansion. Before 1258 A. D., however, Jaṭavarman Sundara succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on the Cólās and the Hoysàlas. The Cólā dominions became a province of the Pāṇḍya empire, and were henceforward known as Cólamaṇḍalam, later corrupted into Coromandel. Thus disappeared from the scene one of the most glorious Hindu empires known to Indian History.

* P. S. I. 200 is of the seventh year of the reign of Rājendra III.

Cola-Calukya monuments in the State :—

The Viṣṇu and Śiva temples at Irumbāṇāḍu are first mentioned in the inscriptions of the reign of Kulóttuṅga I, and may be assigned to the second half of the 11th century. The Rājendra Cōḷśvaram temple at Ponnamarāvati was constructed, and the idol installed, by Rājendra Cōlan Kēraḷan Niṣadarājan, a chief of Ponnamarāvati, about 1150 A. D.; and the Maḍśvara temple at Kaḷḷampāṭṭi was built by the same chief about 1157, as the name of the temple, Rājendra Cōḷśvaram, indicates. The earliest inscriptions in the following temples belong to the twelfth century, and it is probable that they were all built in that century, or towards the end of the 11th century :—the Puṅgavanéśvara temple at Pinnaṅguḍi, the Uttamanāthasvāmi temple at Kīranūr, the Umāpatśvara temple at Śāttanūr, the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples at Kóṭṭaiyūr, the Śiva temples at Tirumaṇañjēri and Irumbāḷi, the Sundara Cōḷśvaram at Kuḷattūr, the Perumāḷ Kóvil at Śēndamaṅgalam, the Vṛddhapurśvara temple at Annavaśal, the Viśvanātha Śvāmi temple at Vayalakam (Vayalógam), the Kadaśśvara temple at Tirukkaḷambūr, and the Svayamprakāśa-mūrti temple at Sundaram. In the following temples the earliest inscriptions belong to the 13th century :—the Tirumaṅganśvara temple at Kāraiur, the Śiva temples at Perumānaḍu, Paḷankarai, Mīnavēli, Tiruvidayāpāṭṭi, Pilivalam and Vāḷaramāpikkam. Early in the 13th century we hear of the Amman shrines in the temples at Ponnamarāvati and Kuḍumiyāmalai, and of a number of new *maṇḍapams* erected in the latter temple. The earliest inscription in the Rāja Rājésvaram temple at Tiruvéṭpūr—the modern Tirúvappūr, a suburb of Pudukkóṭṭai town, is dated in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Kulóttuṅga III and this temple was probably built in the reign of his predecessor Rāja Rāja II (C. 1146-63 A. D.).

The Śiva temples at Séranūr, Ādanakkóṭṭai, Peruṅgaḷūr and Vaittūr are known as Kulóttuṅga Cōḷśvaram, * and may

* *Kulóttuṅgésvara* is also mentioned by its synonym *Vamśóddhāraṇa*.

have been built in the reign of Kulóttuṅga III. The *stala-purāṇam* of Tiruvaraṅguḷam says that *Kalmāṣapāda*, meaning *Karikāla*, built this temple. *Karikāla* is one of the titles assumed by Rāja Rāja II (C. 1146 to 1163 A. D.) and Kulóttuṅga III (C. 1178 to 1216 A. D.). According to P. S. I. 174 of the 39th year (C. 1217-18 A. D.) of the reign of Kulóttuṅga III, the Amman shrine in this temple was built by Kaṇṇuḍaiyaperumāl, queen of the Niṣadarāja chief of Piranmalai and daughter of the Niṣadarāja chief of Ponnamarāvati. This record falls rather late in the reign of Kulóttuṅga III, and the original shrine may have been built either in the beginning of this reign or in that of Rāja Rāja II.

P. S. I. 369 dated 1266 A. D.—the 14th year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya I—the earliest inscription in the Śiva temple at Ambukkóvil, calls the shrine *Vīra Rājendra Cōḷivaram*, evidently after one of the names of Kulóttuṅga III. From its architectural style, the temple may be assigned to the time of Kulóttuṅga III.

The Jain cave-temple on the Mélamalai at Nārttāmalai, familiarly known as *Śamaṇar kuḍaku*, was converted into a Viṣṇu shrine in the reign of Maṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. An inscription of the 12th year of his reign (1228 A. D.) refers to the consecration of the Viṣṇu images and the goddesses in this cave-temple. This and another inscription (P. S. I. 158 of the 27th year of the reign of Kulóttuṅga III) indicate that about the beginning of the 13th century Jainism was on the wane.

Resume :—

The empire founded by Vijayālaya and built up by Rāja Rāja the Great, and his illustrious son Rājendra I began to decline in the 12th century. Kulóttuṅga I was perhaps the last of the great Cōḷa monarchs. The central authority weakened after his time; and the feudal vassals became independent chieftains in all but name. The Pāṇḍya-Kéṛala-Sinhalese combination, though frequently beaten, had never been dissolved.

The Cōla-Pāṇḍya viceroys of the South, set up by Rājendra I, had ceased to exercise authority after the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. The area now covered by the Pudukkōṭṭai State does not seem to have come completely under the jurisdiction of these viceroys. There is only one Cōla-Pāṇḍya inscription in the State (P. S. I. 242 at Perundurāi). The distribution of the Cōla inscriptions in the area now included in the Pudukkōṭṭai State leads to the conclusion that the State was under direct Cōla rule till some time before the close of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III, since his records are found practically all over the State. After this reign we find a number of Pāṇḍya inscriptions with high sounding *prastāśis* declaring that the Pāṇḍyas were the real rulers of the territory. During the last years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III, the south-western part of the State, south of the Vellār and west of the present Pudukkōṭṭai—Kāraikkudi road, had passed into Pāṇḍya hands, as the distribution of the inscriptions of Jaṭavarman Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya's (acc. 1190 A. D.) reign indicates. The inscriptions of Maṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (acc. 1216 A. D.) cover a much wider area from Tirumayam in the south to Koḍumbālūr and Nīrpaḷani in the north, and from Ponnamarāvati and Iḍaiyāttūr on the west to Vāḷaramāṇikkam in the south-east, and Tiruvaraṅguḷam and Paḷaṅkarai in the modern Ālaṅguḍi Taluk. Rāja Rāja III seems to have recovered the northern part of the State; and the records of his reign are to be found at places between Nīrpaḷani on the north and Mēlattaṇṇiyam in the south, all in the western half of the State. We know at present of only one inscription of the reign of Rajendra III in the State. In the time of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (acc. 1251 A. D.) the whole State was under Pāṇḍya rule.

ŚĒMA PĪLLAIYAR:

It has generally been believed that Rājendra III had two sons one of whom was called Śēma Pīḷaiyār. Prof. Sastri points out that the expression '*nammagan*,' meaning 'our son' by which this prince is referred to in an undated inscription of

Rājendra at Tirukkannapuram (A. R. E. 515 of 1922) was often applied to feudatories in Cōla inscriptions. It is therefore doubtful whether Śēma Pillaiyār was really a son of Rājendra.

In P. S. I. 427-437, of the reign of Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (acc. 1253), Śēma Pillaiyār is designated *nāyanār* or king and *Śāmantan* or vassal chief, and gifts to temples were made in his name by Bhuvanaśiṅga Déva, an *aḥambaḍi mudali* or chief officer of the royal household. He is also mentioned in P. S. I. 443 at Tiruviḍaiyāppaṭṭi, belonging to the reign of Maṇavarman Kulaśekhara I. He was therefore a feudatory of Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya I (acc. 1253) and Maṇavarman Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya I (acc. 1268 A. D.). *

There are four inscriptions in the State in which Śēma Pillaiyār is mentioned; he is styled *Nāvilanḡādharaṇ*, *Araśakaṇḡarḡman*, *Aḡagiya Śēman*, *Arulperiya Caṇḡḡivaraṇ* and *Tiruvambalapperumāḡ*. In an incomplete inscription (P. S. I. 1119), the village of Tenvāyūr or Temmāvūr in the Koḡattūr Taluk is called Araśakaṇḡarāmankóṭṭai. Evidently this prince had a fort there. P. S. I. 1054 at Śembāṭṭūr records that he renovated the main shrine of the Tiruvaiyāruḡaiyār temple. P. S. I. 1057 on a wall of the Amman shrine in the Tirumapaṇḡjéri temple records that the shrine was built by this prince. An inscription in the

* The earliest inscription in the State in which Śēma Pillaiyār is mentioned is No. 371 of the 14th year of Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, corresponding to A. D. 1267-8. P. S. I. 427-436 which also mention him are attributed in the 'Chronological list of Inscriptions' to the Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya who ascended the throne in 1296-7, and are dated from A. D. 1300 to 1310. P. S. I. 443 is assigned to the 10th year (A. D. 1324) of Maṇavarman Kulaśekhara II (acc. 1314). This gives us a period of about 60 years between the dates of the earliest and latest inscriptions in the State in which Śēma Pillaiyār is mentioned, which seems rather too long. We must not forget that Śēma is mentioned in the Tirukkannapuram inscription as an important feudatory of Rājendra III Cōla (acc. 1246). Taking everything into consideration, it seems safe to assign inscriptions Nos. 427 to 436 to Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya I in which case the dates will range from A. D. 1257 to 1267, and No. 443 to Maṇavarman Kulaśekhara I dating it A. D. 1278. We may therefore conclude that Śēma Pillaiyār governed parts of the State between about A. D. 1267 and 1278.

Śiva temple at Tiruvaraṅgulaṁ (P. S. I. 1068) mentions a plantation given by Araśakaṇḍarāman to the temple.

Séma must have administered a large part of the State judging by the distribution of his inscriptions.

THE SECOND PĀNDYAN EMPIRE.

Events that led to the establishment of the second empire :

With the flight of Rājasimha (see page 554) the Pāṇḍyan kingdom lost its independence for about three centuries from 920 A. D., and was a province of the Cōla empire. The ruling line was not however extinct. When the Rāstrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III attacked the Cōla empire, Vīra Pāṇḍya rose against the Cōla Governor, but was finally subdued. Rāja Rāja, the Great, reconquered the South, and changed the name of Pāṇḍināḍu to Rāja Rāja Pāṇḍināḍu, which included the southern part of the State. Rājendra I appointed his son as viceroy of the Pāṇḍya and Cēra countries with the title of 'Cōla-Pāṇḍya.' For nearly fifty years, up to about 1070 A. D., the Cōla Pāṇḍyas ruled over the South. There is an inscription at Perundurāi in the State (P. S. I. 1242) of the twelfth year of the administration of Jaṭavarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya. The troubles preceding and following the accession of Kulōttuṅga I to the Cōla throne gave the Pāṇḍya princes of the old family an opportunity to reassert themselves, and the rule of the Cōla-Pāṇḍya viceroys came to an end. Jaṭavarman Śrivalabha, who was contemporaneous with Kulōttuṅga I, reigned over the Pāṇḍya country. P. S. I. 263 in the Agastīśvara temple at Kōṭṭaiyūr in which the *prastāvi* beginning with the words *tirumaḍandaiyum jayamaḍandaiyum* occurs, mentions a royal grant of tax-free *dēvadāna* land to the temple, which the king Śrivalabha made when seated on the throne called *Pāṇḍya rājan* in the hall called *Aḷagiya-Pāṇḍyan* in his palace at Madura. The next three princes who exercised some sort of authority over the State were Māṇavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya (C. 1100), Jaṭavarman Parāntaka Pāṇḍya (C. 1120), and Māṇavarman Śrivalabha (C. 1132).

About the middle of the 12th century, two rival claimants contended for the throne of Madura. One of them, Parākrama Pāṇḍya, was helped by the Ceylonese, but his rival Kulaśékhara succeeded in capturing Madura and killing him (C. 1162). Thereupon the Sinhālese general Laṅkāpura landed in India, and defeated Kulaśékhara at the battles of Kīlenilaya,—the modern Kīlānilai—and Ponnamarāvati, both in the State, and placed Parākrama's son Vīra Pāṇḍya on the throne. The Cōla Emperor sent help to Kulaśékhara, and the Cōla general Anṇan Pallavarāyar restored him to the throne of Madura.

Kulaśékhara, however, deserted his Cōla overlord and ally, and joined the Sinhālese. Anṇan Pallavarāyar again marched on Madura and set Vīra Pāṇḍya on the throne. How long this Pāṇḍya ruled is not known; but in the reign of Kulóttuṅga III he rose against the Cōlas, and relying on the traditional Pāṇḍya-Cēra-Sinhālese coalition tried to overthrow Cōla dominance. In his first campaign in the South, Kulóttuṅga placed Vikrama Pāṇḍya, son of Kulaśékhara, on the throne of Madura (C. 1180), while in the second, he defeated the armies of Vīra Pāṇḍya and his allies. Two Pudukkóttai inscriptions of Kulóttuṅga III, No. 163 at Séranūr, and No. 166 at Kuḍumiyāmalai, which contain the *prasasti* beginning with the words *puyal vāḍittu*, a variant not so far found in any other inscription, the first dated in the 31st year of the reign, and the second in the 34th, carry the story of the Cōla emperor's campaigns much farther than any other record, mentioning a third campaign and how after his final victories, he assumed the *viṣayamuḍi* or 'crown of victory,' and *viramuḍi* or 'crown of heroism,' worshipped at the temple at Madura to which he made rich grants, and finally restored the kingdom to Vikrama Pāṇḍya.

P. S. I. 631 and 632 in the Bālasubrahmaṇya temple at Kappanūr in the State, dated in the 15th year of Vikrama Pāṇḍya's reign, and P. S. I. 633 and 634 in the Karukamāṇikka Perumāḷ temple at Kóttaiyūr dated in his 20th year, register the orders of Lankéśvara, a general and officer of Kulóttuṅga III

cancelling the taxes on the *dēvadānam* lands, and these prove that Vikrama Pāṇḍya ruled over Madura as the vassal of Kulōttuṅga III.

JATĀVARMAN KULASÉKHARA I (C. 1190 to 1217 A. D.)^{*}:

The accession of Jaṭavarman Kulasékhara marks the establishment of the second Pāṇḍyan Empire. P. S. I. 246, in the rock-cut temple at Malaiyakkóvil, contains his *prastā* beginning with the words *pūvinkilatti meyvīrriruppa*, and refers to the cancellation of taxes on *dēvadānam* lands. No. 244 at Tirukkalambūr and 245 at Ponnamarāvati refer to gifts by Kéralan Niṣadarājan of Tirukkoḍuṅkuṇṇam or Pirāṇmalai. In his inscriptions referred to on pages 609, 610 and 614 above Kéralan Niṣadarājan dated his grants by the regnal years of the Cōla Emperors, but about 1199 A. D. he seems to have transferred his allegiance to Jaṭavarman Kulasékhara Pāṇḍya. P. S. I. 331 to 337 mention a feudatory Kaṇḍan Aludaiyān (or Āvudaiyān) also called Kalvāyil Nāḍālvān and his brother Kaṇḍan Alagu-kaṇḍa Perumāḷ.

The south-western part of the State as far north as the Vellār was included in Kulasékhara's territories, which extended over the modern Madura, Ramnad, and Tinnevely districts.

MĀRAVARMAN SUNDARA PĀṇḌYA I (Acc. 1216 A. D.).

This monarch extended his kingdom at the expense of Cōla territory in a campaign begun in the third year of his reign, in which he destroyed Uraiyūr and Tanjore, and put to flight the Cōla Rāja Rāja III who was only restored to his throne after paying homage to the Pāṇḍya. Sundara Pāṇḍya then assumed the titles *Śōṇāḍukonḍa* meaning 'He who captured the Cōla country'; *Śōṇāḍukonḍu Mudikonḍa Cōlapurattu-vīrar-abhiśékham-panṇi-arūḷiya*,—'He who was pleased to take the Cōla country and perform, *Vīrabhiśékham*† at Mudikonḍacōlapuram,' and *Śōṇāḍu-valaṅgi-arūḷiya*—'He who was pleased to restore the Cōlanāḍu.'

^{*} P. S. I. 244 to 246 and 333 to 337 belong to this reign. The highest regnal year is 26.

† *Vīrabhiśékham* is the ceremonial anointment of a victorious warrior.

In C. 1234-35, Ràja Ràja again rebelled but was easily defeated. Ràja Ràja III recovered his throne with the aid of the Hoysàlas. In the time of Narasimha II the Hoysàlas were connected by marriage with both the Còlas and the Pàndyas, and Narasimha's military and diplomatic interference secured the continuance of the Còla monarchy for some years longer.

Inscriptions of the reign.—A number of inscriptions at Neivàsal, and in the reconstructed Viṣṇu temple at Munasandai, mention Gàṅgaiyaràyan Kaṇḍan Udayaṇceydàn, a native of Niyamam who enjoyed a *jīvitam*, or grant of land for military services, in Neivàsal and the adjacent villages. Other Gàṅgaiya chiefs or officers mentioned are Àṟṟúruḍaiyàn Ponnān Gàṅgaiyaràyan (P. S. I. 255 at Kuḍumiyāmalai) and Kaṇḍan Akkam Perumāl Gàṅgaiyan (P. S. I. 303 at Neivàsal). The Gàṅgaiyaràjas, who came into prominence as chiefs and generals under the Pàndya kings, continued to exercise authority in the country now included in the State till about the 16th century, and renovated and endowed many temples. Àṟṟúruḍaiyàn Ponnān Gàṅgaiyaràjan, for example, widened the narrow *prākāram* of the Śikhānathasvāmi temple at Kuḍumiyāmalai. They exercised considerable authority, abolishing some taxes and imposing others. Other officers mentioned in inscriptions are Kalvāyil Nāḍālvān Kaṇḍan Àvuḍaiyàn (P. S. I. 252), Tyāgañ Cīṟiyaperumāl, probably a prince of the blood, (P. S. I. 256), Dévan kiḷavan Còla Divākara Múvénda Vélār of Kàraiṭūr (P. S. I. 266), Saṅkaran Kaṇḍan, also known as Kalikaḍinda Pàndyadévan of Koḷattūr (P. S. I. 290), and Terrān Araiya-kalañjappirandàn, also known as Kaḍambaràyan, a viceroy or administrator. Only one form of the king's *prastis*, that beginning with the words *pūmaruviya-tirumaḍandaiyum*, occurs in the State inscriptions—P. S. I. 250, 256, 290 and 323. A Kóṭṭaiyūr inscription, P. S. I. 270, records that the king issued royal orders from the audience hall *Olakkappalliyarai* in his palace at Madura. An inscription in the Rāmnāḍ district,—

No. 77 of 1916 dated in the seventh year of this reign, refers to a throne called *Maḷavarāyaṇ* at Ponnamarāvati. In the body of P. S. I. 326 two engraved figures of the carp, the emblem of the Pāṇḍyas, occur.

The inscriptions of the reign mention various taxes, sales of land by auction, and mutual arrangements made by villages to irrigate their lands. These are briefly examined in a later part of this section dealing with the Cōla and Pāṇḍya administrative system. P. S. I. 288 at Péraiyaṛ mentions the sale of village-sites in auction by the temple authorities, in order to form a new extension named *Kulaśékharaperunderu*.

P. S. I. 310 at Kóṭṭaiyaṛ mentions the levy of oppressive taxes by the Hoysāla generals who were camping in the south. The residents of Kóṭṭaiyaṛ had no money in the temple treasury and had to sell their land in public auction. P. S. I. 309 at Idāiyāttūr mentions a similar sale.

As mentioned above, the Śikhānāthasvāmi temple at Kuḍumiyāmalai was renovated during this reign, and the inner *prākāram* and entrance were widened. P. S. I. 279 and 325 record that the Amman shrine of the Tirumalaikkaḍambar temple at Nārttāmalai was built by Maruḍaiyaṇ Periyadévanuḍaiyaṇ. P. S. I. 281 refers to the consecration of the Viṣṇu images in the cave temple on the Mélamalai at Nārttāmalai which had previously been a Jain shrine.*

The inscriptions of Maṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I† are distributed over a wide area in the State from Ponnamarāvati and Neivāsal in the south to Kolattūr and Nīrpaḷani in the north, and from Idāiyāttūr in the west to Tiruvaraṅgulam in the east.

* From a newly discovered inscription on the basement of the *mukha mantapam*, dated in the 45th year of the reign of Kulóttuṅga I (= A. D. 1115), we learn that it was already a Vaiṣṇavite temple in the beginning of the 12th century. (See J. O. R. Vol. VIII, page 25).

† P. S. I. 247 to 327, 467, 468, 506, 518 and 520 may be assigned to this reign; the highest regnal year being 28.

JATĀVARMAN KULASÉKHARA II (Acc. 1238):

Kulasékhara as heir-apparent ruled jointly with Sundara Pāṇḍya for about two years.

P. S. I. 328 and 329 at Neivāsai are the two inscriptions of his reign in the State. They are dated in his second year (1239 A. D.) and refer to remission of taxes by Kaṇḍan Udaiyañ Ceyḍan Gaṅgaiyarāyar of Niyamam.

MĀRAVARMAN SUNDARA PĀṇḌYA II (Acc. 1238):

Another joint-ruler, Sundara Pāṇḍya, became the sole ruler in about A. D. 1239 and reigned till about 1253.

Inscriptions in the State and outside refer frequently to Hoysāla incursions, and Sundara had to resist their apparently friendly but meddlesome influence. Under him, however, the Pāṇḍyan kingdom suffered no diminution, and he ruled the decaying Cōla kingdom also.

Inscriptions of this reign:

Seven inscriptions, P. S. I. 338 to 343 and 472, ranging from the 2nd to the 12th regnal years may be assigned to this reign. P. S. I. 338 to 339 refer to repairs to the Vayalógam temple. P. S. I. 340 and 341 mention a dispute between the Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites of Tirumayam which resulted in the stopping of the daily services in both the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples. The Hoysāla general Appaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka who was camping there convened a general assembly of the residents of the district, cities and villages, and the religious heads and *Araiyars* of Virudarājabhayaṅkara Vaḷanāḍu, and settled the dispute to the satisfaction of both the parties.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA PĀṇḌYA I (Acc. 1281):

In this reign the Cōlas suffered complete eclipse. Sundara stormed the fort of Kaṇṇanūr in the Trichinopoly district and put the Hoysāla Vīrasómésvara to flight. Then he conquered Śēndamaṅgalam and subjugated the Pallava or Kāḍava chieftain. Koṅgu also was subdued. Thus, before he had been seven

years on the throne Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya had brought under his rule practically the whole of South India, from Travancore as far north as Nellore and Cuddapah, and also Ceylon. He styled himself *maharājādhirāja* or paramount sovereign.

*Inscriptions of this reign :**

P. S. I. 354-356 refer to a Gaṅgaiyarāya chieftain who granted villages to the trustees of the Kailāsanātha temple at Ādanūr. One of the donees was Vannakkan Śellappillai, also called Parākrama Pāṇḍya Amarakōṇar, who is mentioned as a lessee in P. S. I. 351 also. The village given to him originally belonged to a Secretary of the chieftain, Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa Pallavarāyar. It was confiscated for his default in payment of taxes. Virāchilai and Kurundanpīrai are mentioned as *padaipparru*, or villages held under military tenure.

P. S. I. 345 and 349 mention repairs to the Varagunēsvara temple at Oliyamaṅgalam, and 358, repairs to the Maḍattukkóvil temple. P. S. I. 353 is a royal order instituting a daily service called *Rájarájan Sundara Pāṇḍyan Sandhi* in the Parvatagirisvara temple at Kunnāṇḍarkóvil in the name of the king.

JATĀVARMAN VĪRA PĀṆDYA I (Joint-king: Acc. 1253):

Sundara Pandya was ably assisted by Vīra Pāṇḍya, who came to power in 1253 and ruled jointly with him. The inscriptions of Vīra Pāṇḍya corroborate the main facts recorded in those of Sundara. Vīra Pāṇḍya played an important role in the establishment of Pāṇḍya hegemony in the middle of the 13th century, and the reign of these two kings is a brilliant page in Pāṇḍyan history.

Inscriptions of Vīra Pāṇḍya's reign :

P. S. I. 370 at Peruṅgaḷūr, 372 at Irumbāṇāḍu and 379 at Koḍumbāḷūr contain the *prasasti* beginning with the words

* Fifteen inscriptions P. S. I. 344-358 ranging from the 2nd (1253 A. D.) to the 17th year (1267 A. D.) may be assigned to this reign.

koṅḷaṅkonḍu and referring to the conquest of Koṅḷu and Iḷam or Ceylon, to the destruction of a hill-fort of the Vaḍugas (Kanarese or Telugus?) and the capture of both banks of the Ganges (?) and the Kāvéri. P. S. I. 370 also mentions that the king received tribute from the Kāḍava Peruñjiṅga.

P. S. I. 366 in the Mélaikkóvil at Kuḍumiyāmalai is unique in containing an elaborate *prastā* of the king beginning *tirumakaḷ-vaḷarmulai-tirumārpu-talaiya*, and will bear brief examination as throwing light on the relations between the Pāṇḍyan kingdom and Ceylon in this period, and 'incidentally also on South India's live contact with the Hindu kingdoms across the seas, a contact of which we have only a very few traces left in contemporary records.'* This inscription gives a list of kingdoms in India and beyond the seas which sent tribute to Vīra Pāṇḍya, among which are mentioned Kāḍaram in the Malay Peninsula which belonged to the Empire of Śrī Vijaya, and Cīnam or China. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri rightly observes,—“It will be seen that this is court-poetry, not history; the names of countries have been chosen with a view to euphony and metrical effects, and there is no attempt here to state facts.” The particular historical fact that we glean from this *prastā* is that Vīra Pāṇḍya killed one of the kings of Ceylon, captured his army, treasures and paraphernalia, hoisted the Pāṇḍyan flag bearing the two carp on the peaks of Kōṇa-malai and Trikūṭagiri and forced another king to surrender. Finally, ‘the son of Śāvaka(n) who had previously been recalcitrant and hostile came and prostrated himself (before Vīra Pāṇḍya) and was duly rewarded.’ The Śāvaka mentioned in this inscription is not Java alone, according to Prof. Coedès

* Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has discussed the significance of this Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription in his paper—*The Ceylon Expedition of Jalāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya* published in the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore*.

but means Indonesia* as a whole. The *Śāvakans* of this inscription are probably Candrabhānu and his son, two adventurers from Indonesia, who ruled by right of conquest over a part of Ceylon and had to acknowledge Pāṇḍyan suzerainty for a time.

Among the feudatories mentioned in the State inscriptions of this reign are Kaṇḍan Aḷagukaṇḍa Perumāl Gaṅgaiyarāyan (P. S. I. 360 and 375) and Dévar Vāṇadarāya (P. S. I. 375). This Vāṇadarāyan was perhaps the same as the Māveli Vāṇadarāya mentioned in P. S. I. 380 whose men were defeated by Tirukoḍuṅkūṇṇa Nāḍālvān at Iḍaiyāttūr. P. S. I. 378 records a gift to the Tiruvaraṅgulaṁ temple by a chief of Arantāṅgi. Peruṅguḍi is referred to in P. S. I. 364 as a *paḍaipparru*, or village held under military tenure.

P. S. I. 366 records the consecration of Aruvuḍai Malai-maṅgaiyār, the goddess of the Mélaikkóvil temple at Kuḍumiya-malai, by Nācci, a dancing girl, and the gift of a village to this shrine by the king when camping at Kāraiyaṭṭūr. The reconstruction of the Śiva temple at Sundaram is mentioned in P. S. I. 382.

P. S. I. 365 enumerates articles such as salt, dholl, betel, etc., on which custom duties were levied; and P. S. I. 601, which Prof. Sastri assigns to this reign, mentions a fire-ordeal to which the accused in a case of theft were subjected in the Kuḍumiya-malai temple. A tank named Aiññūṟṟuvar after the famous merchant guild of South India is mentioned in P. S. I. 363.

P. S. I. 359 to 382, 427 to 436 and 601, may be assigned to the reign of this joint-king; the highest regnal year being 23.

MĀRAVARMAN KULASÉKHARA PĀṇDYA I (Acc. 1268):

Māṇavarman Kulasékhara shared the kingdom with a *Māṇavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya* who is not mentioned in any inscription in the State, two *Jatavarman Sundara Pāṇḍyas*

* *Simplement un nom ethnique designant les Indonésiens*—B. K. I. 83 (1927), quoted by Prof. Sastri.

(acc. 1276 and 1303), *Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya II* (acc. 1296-97) and *Jaṭavarman Śrivalabha* (acc. 1291). Marco Polo, who visited the Pāṇḍyan kingdom about this time, speaks of the 'five royal brothers' and 'five crowned kings' of this 'great province of Ma'bar.' Chinese records also mention the 'five brothers.' The Muslim historian Wassaf speaks of Kales Dewar (Kulaśékhara Déva) and his three brothers. As Prof. Sastri observes—
 "The system of joint rulers or co-regents which thus prevailed in the latter part of the thirteenth century in the Pāṇḍya empire must have been the result of the great extension of the empire during this period and an imitation of the practice of sending out princes of the royal family as viceroys which had prevailed in the Cōla empire."*

The Cōla line had been annihilated when Kulaśékhara ascended the throne, and the titles that he assumed refer to his rule over all the country from Iḷam or Ceylon and Malaināḍu or Travancore in the south to Koṅgu and Topḍaimaṇḍalam in the north.

Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya II (acc. 1296-97) and *Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya III* (acc. 1303) ruled jointly with Kulaśékhara in the closing years of his reign, and, according to Wassaf, were brothers. Civil war broke out between them, taking advantage of which the Khilji general Malikkāfūr invaded the Pāṇḍya country and sacked Madura. This invasion marks the beginning of the decline of the second Pāṇḍyan empire. Ravi Varman Kulaśékhara of the old Cēra dynasty, the ruler of Travancore, also seized the opportunity to attack the Pāṇḍya brothers and defeated them in 1315. The invasion of the Kākatiyās of Waraṅgal almost completed the disintegration of the Pāṇḍya empire.

* *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* pp. 181-182.

*Inscriptions of the reigns of these kings :**

A Tonḍaimān figures as the royal secretary in P. S. I. 388 at Tirukkalambūr, and another Tonḍaimān bearing the title of the Pāṇḍya king, viz., *Bhuvanēkavira*, in a Tiruvaraṅgulaṁ inscription, P. S. I. 547. Emmaṇḍalamum-koṇḍaruliya Pāṇḍya dévan, a *mudali* or commander of the royal forces (P. S. I. 391), Śikkankāśan, also called Valudināṭṭinaraiyan of Neḍumpuraṇḍu (P. S. I. 566), Dharman Aṭkoṇḍa-dévan-Dharmarāyan, chief of Śēndamangalam (P. S. I. 407, 410-11), Uyyavandān Araśan, also called Tennavadaraiyan (P. S. I. 413), and Ponnai Alagapperumāl Tévan, chief of Śūraikkūḍi, are the principal feudatories mentioned in the State inscriptions of this reign. P. S. I. 402 and 403 mention a *padaipparru*, or village held under military tenure, near Péraiyaṭṭ and the *Maramudalis* or Marava generals and the *Araiyaṭṭ* of the same place; and P. S. I. 439, refers to Mélaikkurundanpīrai, another *padaipparru* near Tirumayam. A Gaṅgaiyaṭṭar chief appears as a donor in a Neivāśal inscription (P. S. I. 424).

Repairs and improvements to the Kadalśvara temple at Tirukkalambūr are mentioned in P. S. I. 388, and to the Śiva temple at Oliyamaṅgalaṁ in P. S. I. 441, and the consecration of the principal deities in the Bilvavanéśvara temple at Virāchilai in P. S. I. 421.

MĀRAVARMAN KULASĒKHARA II (acc. 1314):

This king assumed the vainglorious and empty title 'He who conquered every country'—and ruled till about 1346.

The State inscriptions of this reign are P. S. I. 444, 445, 556, 565, 573, 579, 582 and 586, the highest regnal year being 31.

* P. S. I. 388 to 420, 443, 547 and 566, with regnal years from 3 to 43 may be assigned to Māravarman Kulasēkhara I; P. S. I. 421 to 425 from the 4th to the 13th year of the reign to Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II—joint-king; P. S. I. 426 having the regnal year 10 to Jaṭavarman Śrivalabha—joint-king; P. S. I. 438 to 440 to Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya—joint-king; and P. S. I. 441 and 442 to Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya III—joint-king.

P. S. I. 582 at Péyal in the Kolattúr Taluk mentions a Kaḍambarāya chief, and P. S. I. 444, the installation of the goddess in the Puṣpavanéśvara temple at Púvālaikkudi.

Jaṭavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya I (acc. 1315): was co-regent. P. S. I. 446-449 are the inscriptions of his reign found in the State.

The Sultanate of Madura—The end of the Pandya Empire:

It has been suggested by some historians that in the civil war between Sundara Pāṇḍya and Vīra Pāṇḍya, Sundara, having been defeated, appealed to the Muslims for help against his brother, and that this was the cause of Malikkāfūr's expedition to Madura. But there is no convincing authority for this theory, and Malikkāfūr was equally hostile to both the brothers.

After subduing the Hoysāla kingdom, Malikkāfūr turned his attention to Ma'bar, the name by which the Cōla and Pāṇḍya countries were known to foreigners at that time. From Dvārasamudra he proceeded to Kaṇṇanūr, Śrīraṅgam and Trichinopoly. According to Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar* he marched from Trichinopoly to Madura by way of Māttūrkuḷam—which is evidently the village of Māttūr in the State on the Trichinopoly—Pudukkóttai road—Kaḍambarkóvil at Nārttāmalai, Annavāsal, Kuḍumiyāmalai, Ponnamarāvati, and Tiruppattūr, whence he probably followed the line of the present road to Madura. The route suggested seems probable; and perhaps he also visited Koḍumbāḷūr either on his way to Madura or on his return, as otherwise it is difficult to account for the destruction of so many temples and villages in the western part of the State. The Jain monasteries and temples at Nārttāmalai and Annavāsal, and the temples of Koḍumbāḷūr were probably sacked by the Khiliji army. After the sack of Madura, Malikkāfūr advanced to Rāmésvaram, which is believed to be the farthest limit of his advance in the Pāṇḍya country. He returned to Delhi about the end of A. D. 1311

* *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 104-108.

or early in A. D. 1312. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar thinks* that "there are good reasons for believing that a Mussalman garrison continued in Madura. If it did, its authority must have been confined very narrowly, not extending in all probability to very much beyond the territory immediately round Madura." Khusru Khan was the second Muslim invader of Ma'bar, but his expedition was uneventful. The kings of the south fled before him, and he returned to Delhi with enormous booty.

MA'BAR UNDER THE IMPERIAL RULE OF DELHI† (1324 to 1334):

The Pāṇḍyan kingdom was incorporated with the Delhi empire in 1323, when Jatavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya was made prisoner. Nothing definite is known about the history of Ma'bar between 1324 and 1334, except that between 1326 and 1334 two governors, both named Ulāpati Khān, are mentioned. Ibn Baṭūṭa says that Sultān Muhammad Tughlak appointed Sharif Jalāl-ud-Din as governor, but other Muslim historians tell us that the Sharif was only the head of the Police or Kotwāl at Madura.

P. S. I. 669 at Rāṅgiyam in the State dated A. H. 732, corresponding to A. D. 1332 is an inscription of the reign of Ādi Sūrattān (Sultān), who has been variously identified with Jalāl-ud-Din Ahsan Shāh by Dr. S. K. Iyengar and in J. R. A. S. (1909 pp. 671 and 682), and by others with Sultān Muhammad-bin-Tughlak. P. S. I. 670 at Panaiyūr is dated in the 9th regnal year of Muhammadi Sūrattān, who is clearly Sultān Muhammad. It is therefore evident that the Sultān in both the inscriptions was Muhammad-bin-Tughlak himself, and that in A. D. 1334, the date of the Panaiyūr inscription, Ma'bar was under the

* *Ibid* page 123. But this is doubtful. See Prof. Sastri: *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* pp. 207-208, and Dr. Venkataramanayya's article *Ma'bar*-J. O. R. Vol. XII—ii—pp. 192-3.

† For a full account of Ma'bar under Muslim rule, the reader is referred to Dr. Venkataramanayya's recent articles in the *J. O. R.* Vol. XII—ii and the *Journal of the Madras University* Vol. XI—i, January 1939.

Imperial rule of Delhi. During this period, as Dr. Venkataramanayya observes, "Hindu political life was in a state of suspended animation and the country was passing through a period of great distress."*

THE SULTÂNATE (1334 to 1350):

In A. D. 1334—35, Sharif Jalâl-ud-Dîn slew the governors of Madura and proclaimed himself Sultân Jalâl-ud-Dîn Ahsan Shâh. We shall not here examine the circumstances that led to the rebellion, but content ourselves with pointing out that by that time Madura was cut off from Delhi by the establishment of strong Hindu rule in Teliṅga and in the North Tamil country where the Hoysala Ballâla III was operating from Tiruvannâmalai. The following were the Sultâns of Madura.†

Jalâl-ud-Dîn Ahsan Shâh	....	1334—39.
Alâ-ud-Dîn Udaijî	....	1339—40.
Qutb-ud-Dîn	....	1340.
Ghaiyâs-ud-Dîn Dâughani	....	1341—43.
Nâsir-ud-Dîn	....	1343—52(?)
Qurbat Hasan Kângu	....	1353—71.

When Ghaiyâs-ud-Dîn was on the throne, Ballâla III invaded the Coromandel coast, and laid siege to the fort of Kanna-nûr, north of Trichinopoly. The Muslim garrison was in grave danger, but Ghaiyâs-ud-Dîn managed by treachery to capture Ballâla and put him to death.

The final blow to the Ma'bar Sultânate came from Vijayanagar, the new Hindu power in the south that had supplanted the Hoysâlas. Two Vijayanagar princes, Vîra Śavanna Udaiyâr and his cousin Kumâra Kampana‡, marched into the Tamil

* Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XI—i. p. 43.

† *Ibid.* p. 65.

‡ P. S. I. 681 (A. D. 1374) and 960 (A. D. 1376) which refer to Kumâra Kampana's rule in the State, and 682 (A. D. 1380) and 683 (A. D. 1382) to Vîra Śavanna's, are discussed in the next section. The State was annexed to the Vijayanagar empire in about A. D. 1371, though the districts to the north of the Kâvéri had been conquered from the Muslims about A. D. 1353.

country in A. D. 1352—53. Vira Śavanna came as far south as Śendalai near Tanjore, and proceeded west to Karúr along the banks of the Kàvéri. He was joined by Kampana. Sultàn Qurbat Hasan Kangu of Madura was a profligate, unworthy of the royal dignity to which he had been called. This was Kampana's opportunity. He captured Kaṇṇanúr, marched on Madura and put the Sultàn to death (A. D. 1371).

The country south of the Kàvéri, including Pudukkóṭṭai was under Mussalman rule for nearly half a century.

That the rule of the Sultàns was one of unbridled oppression is shown by the writings of Ibn Baṭūṭa, the historian and traveller, who stayed in Ma'bar for several years, and by a number of inscriptions in the State and the adjoining districts of Madura and Ramnad.

P. S. I. 669 at Ràṅgiyam states that in consequence of the confusion and troubles caused by the Muslim raids, the residents of Ādanúr placed themselves under the protection of the assembly of Rājaśiṅgamaṅgalam in Ponnamarāvati nāḍu, and sold their *pādikāval* right to the latter. An inscription at Tirukkóḷakkuḍi, Tiruppattúr Taluk, Ramnad district, situated just beyond the State limits, records the destruction of Śúraikkuḍi by the Muslim soldiery, and an agreement by which the citizens of Virāchilai and Kóṭṭiyúr placed themselves under the protection of those of Ponnamarāvati. A Tiruppattúr inscription records how temples were ruined during the *tulukkavāṇam* or encampment of the Muslims, and were subsequently renovated and reconsecrated by Araiyan Periyānāyanār of Śúraikkuḍi. Two inscriptions at Kāḷaiyārkóvil, Ramnad district,* and two at Neivāśal in the State, P. S. I. 452 (A. D. 1374—75) and 454 (A. D. 1381—82), also mention the destruction of villages during the *tulukkarkalakam* or Muslim incursions.

* A. R. E. 587 and 588-A of 1902,--Nos. 182 and 183, S. I. I. VIII.

THE LAST PÁNDYAN KINGS.

It appears that after the Hindu reconquest of Madura the Pándyan princes were never able to regain their capital, though minor rulers, mostly with little real power, wielded some sort of authority in different parts of the empire, especially in Tinnevely, where they continued until the 18th century.

Pudukkóttai inscriptions mention the Pándyan princes, Māṛavarman Vīra Pándya I* (acc. 1334), Māṛavarman Śrī-Vallabha† (acc. 1350) and Jaṭavarman Parākrama Pándya II‡ (acc. 1357), who exercised some degree of authority over Pudukkóttai and parts of Ramnad district during the Sultānate of Madura. Māṛavarman Vīra Pándya§ (acc. 1443 ?) ruled parts of the State in the 15th century.

Among the local chieftains mentioned in the inscriptions of these reigns are Mudaliyāṇḍār Dharmarāyar, chief of Śēnda-māṅalam (P. S. I. 456), and the chiefs of Śūraikkūḍi, better known as Vannian Śūraikkūḍi. These chiefs assumed the title *Araiyan Viṭayālaya Tévan*, and were vassals of the Pándyas and later of Vijayanagar, till they finally established their independence. P. S. I. 452 at Neivāśal (A. D. 1374) and 454 at Ādanūr (A. D. 1381) mention Periyānāyanār Tonḍaimān to whom was assigned the *pāḍikāval* right of these places during the dark days of the misrule of the Madura Sultāns. P. S. I. 461 and 462 at Virāchilai (A. D. 1449) mention Śokkā Nārāyaṇa Tévan. This chief reduced the tribute paid to him by the residents of the *pāḍaiṇṇar* villages in recognition of the help that they had rendered in defeating and killing Valuttūr Pallavarāyar who had invaded the territories under the chief's control. Paḷlikonḍa Perumāḷ, another chief of this line, is mentioned in P. S. I. 463 and 464 dated A. D. 1498 at the same place.

* Inscriptions of the reign are P. S. I. 450 to 454.

† P. S. I. 455-458.

‡ P. S. I. 459-460.

§ P. S. I. 461-464.

Resume :

The Pàṇḍya revival began in the 12th century, and before the end of the century, they had occupied the south-western part of the State. Early in the 13th century, Māravarman Sundara Pàṇḍya I extended Pàṇḍya rule over practically the whole State. The Hoysālas however exercised control over parts of the State till they were defeated by Jaṭavarman Sundara Pàṇḍya I (acc. 1251 A. D.). The joint rule of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pàṇḍya I and Jaṭavarman Vīra I marked the zenith of Pàṇḍya ascendancy. The civil war between the brothers Jaṭavarman Vīra II and Jaṭavarman Sundara III furnished the occasion for the Mussalman invasion of the south in the beginning of the 14th century, which broke up the Pàṇḍyan Empire and brought ruin to many villages in the State.

The central authority exercised by the Pàṇḍyas does not seem to have been so strong as that of the Cōlas at the height of their imperial power. The fact that the throne was frequently shared by joint-rulers must have tended to weaken the central authority. The State inscriptions mention *Nāḍḍivāra* and *Araiyars*, who exercised almost royal authority over the villages and towns of which they were in charge. They engaged in internecine wars, which went on unchecked, and often ravaged the villages of their rivals. Among the feudatories who were coming into prominence were the Gaṅgaiyarāyars, Vāṇadarāyars or Bāṇas, the Viśayālaya Tévans of Sūraikkūḍi, Pallavarāyars and the Kaḍambarāyars; some of whom, as we shall see later, set up principalities on the ruins of the Pàṇḍya Empire.

HOYSĀLAS.

Early in the 11th century the Hoysālas had thrown off the yoke of the Western Čālukyas. Viṣṇu Vardhana (A. D. 1111-1141) made them a prominent power in South India. He once raided the Cōla country and advanced as far as Raméśvaram. In the reign of his son, Pratāpa Narasimha I (A. D. 1143-73) the Cōlas

and Hoysálas were frequently at war along the eastern borders of Mysore, and Vikrama Cóla established his authority over that country for a time.

When Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya invaded the Cóla country, the Hoysála Ballála II (A. D. 1173–1220), son of Narasimha I, helped the Cólas and assumed the title *Cóla-rájya pratiṣṭhádārya-Pāṇḍya-gajakṣari* meaning 'the establisher of the Cóla kingdom and the lion to the Pāṇḍya-elephant.' Ballála's son, Vira Narasimha II (A. D. 1217–1235) rescued Rāja Rāja III Cóla from captivity in the hands of Kopperuñjiṅga, (see pages 615 and 616 above) and gave the decaying Cóla empire a further lease of life. An inscription at Tirugókaṇṇam (P. S. I. 183) of the reign of Rājendra III, dated A. D. 1236, which records a gift by the princess Sómalaḍévi, the sister of Vira Narasimha II, 'who was like a mother to his son Vira Sómésvara. (A. D. 1234 or 1228 to 1262)*' indicates the influence that the Hoysálas wielded in the Cóla country.

When the Cólas showed signs of recovery under Rājendra III, the Hoysálas under Vira Sómésvara supported the Pāṇḍyas, and thus strove to maintain the balance of power in the south. But soon friendly relations between the Cólas and the Hoysálas were resumed, and some inscriptions in the Pudukkóttai State point to the conclusion that in some areas within the State, there was something like joint-rule by the two houses. Ravi-déva, the general of Sómésvara, captured Kānanāḍu, which included the southern part of the State. Sómésvara's inscriptions P. S. I. 666 and 667 at Ālattūr, Kolattūr Taluk, and Śembattūr, Alaṅguḍi Taluk dated in the 23rd year of his reign (1254–1255), show that he ruled over this part of the State. His other inscriptions refer to the victorious march of his forces as far as Rāmésvaram, probably under the command of Appanna Daṇḍanāyaka, (See page 626 above). P. S. I. 518 of the 10th year of a Sundara Pāṇḍya, probably Māravarman

* C. Hayavadana Rao: *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, ii, p. 1362.

Sundara I (A. D. 1236), records a gift to the Perumànaḍu temple by the Hoysāla general Śrīmān Mahāpradāni Maṇḍalikarmurāri Aniyagaddayya* Daṇḍanāyaka. These show that the Hoysālas aspired to hegemony over the South Indian States.

Sōmēśvara founded a capital at Kaṇṇanūr near Trichinopoly. On his death in 1254 his kingdom was divided between his two sons. Vīra Narasimha III (A. D. 1254–1291) got Dvārasamudra, and Vīra Rāmanātha (A. D. 1254–1295), Kaṇṇanūr, but the two half brothers were frequently at variance. Ramanātha was unsuccessful in his wars with the Pāṇḍyas. Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (acc. 1251) defeated the Cōla and Hoysāla forces, killed the commander Śiṅgaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka and captured Kaṇṇanūr. This battle marks the end of the Tamil branch of the Hoysāla house.

Śiṅgaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka is referred to in Puḍukkōṭṭai inscriptions as *Śrīmān Mahāperiya-pradāni*—the great commander and minister. He installed an idol in the Śēmbāṭṭūr temple (P. S. I. 667 of the 23rd year of the reign of Vīra Sōmēśvara—A. D. 1254). Śiṅgaṇṇa's brother, Śokkanātha Daṇḍanāyaka, who bore the vainglorious title of the 'chastiser of the three Tamil kings' is mentioned in an undated Hoysāla inscription (P. S. I. 1056) as the builder of a stone shrine, in the temple at Tirumapañjēri.

P. S. I. 668 of the reign of Vīra Rāmanātha at Tirumapañjēri, dated A. D. 1271–1272 records a gift to the same temple by the Araiyars of Nelvēli in the Tanjore district. These records show that the Hoysāla king and his generals exercised real authority over parts of the State.

That the Hoysāla occupation was not an unmixed blessing to the people of the State is borne out by a Kōṭṭaiyūr inscription P. S. I. 310—A. D. 1235—which mentions that the

* Also called *Aṇiyagaddayya*. *Aṇiya* means son-in-law. Probably he was the son-in-law of Vīra Sōmēśvara.

oppressive taxes imposed by the Kannaḍiyar or Hoysālas necessitated the sale in public auction of even temple lands.

It is not necessary to trace here the further history of the Hoysālas, except to mention that their influence in the south completely waned after Rāmanātha's defeat. Ballāla III (A. D. 1291–1342), son of Narasimha III, tried to re-establish Hoysāla power, but it became practically extinct on his death at the hands of Ghaīyās-ud-Dīn at the battle of Kannaṇūr. The hegemony of the south then passed into the hands of the Vijayanagar emperors.

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL LIFE (9th—14th Centuries).

Government :

The King.—Prof. Sastri characterises the monarchy in the Cōla empire as Byzantine 'with its numerous palaces, officials, and ceremonials and its majestic display of the concentrated resources of an extensive empire.' The king is referred to in the Pudukkóttai inscriptions as '*Uḍaiyār* or *Cakravartigal*,' and in the later ones particularly as *Tribhuvana-cakravartigal* or emperor of the three worlds. Royal orders were issued under the name of the king or frequently under the title *Kónérinmaikonḍān* meaning 'the king without a peer.' *Ulaguḍaiyaṇḍyandār* or 'lord of the world' is generally the title adopted in the copies of royal orders recorded in villages and towns. The queen is referred to as *Bhuvana* (or *Avani*)—*muluḍuḍaiyāl* or 'the Possessor of the whole world.'

Cōla kings bore the title *Parakésari* or *Rājakésari*, and Pāṇḍya kings, *Jaṭavarman* or *Māravarman*, and prefixed to it *kó* meaning king. The full title of the Cōlas, as recorded in the State inscriptions, was *Kó-Parakésarivarman* or *Kó-Rājakésarivarman*, and that of the Pāṇḍyas, *Kó-ccāḍaiyavarman* or *Kó-māravarman*.

The king's household.—The inscriptions mention several grades of attendants on the monarch. The king's bodyguard were known as the *tirumeykáppar* or *aṇukkar* meaning 'those

who are close to the kings,' or *Ahambadi mudalis* meaning 'servants of the inner apartments.' Princesses and chiefs of rank had their own personal servants. The palace servants were organised in groups known as *vélams*, and settled in separate quarters in the capital cities. They were often recruited from men and women of rank captured as prisoners of war. They enjoyed a liberal competence and did only light work.

The Administrative machinery.—The administration was an organised bureaucracy. Local assemblies are mentioned in hundreds of inscriptions, but there is no reference anywhere to a central assembly exercising the powers of a modern legislature or controlling the executive. On the other hand the king's officers frequently scrutinized the accounts and transactions of the local assemblies.

Officers of the rank of *Enádi* (see page 538 above) and *márdyam** were the most influential. *Araiya*s, often known as *péraraiya*s, were in charge of the smaller administrative divisions. *Adikári* was a common official title, and such officers when in administrative and military charge of districts took the name or title of the ruling king, followed by the appellation *múvëndavélan*.† The nobility were designated either *Perundaram*—higher-grade or *Siṟutaram*—lower-grade.

The officers were seldom paid in cash, but were assigned land,—sometimes whole villages or even *náḍu*s for their maintenance, free of tax, and are referred to as the Uḍaiyas or lords of the *úr* or *náḍu*.

The different stages by which a royal order reached the village assembly or temple concerned for final execution were as follows. The king seated on the throne or in his camp‡ is

* E. g. P. S. I. 78.

† *Múvenda vélan* = a person of importance or a chief under the Tamil kings (*múvendar*).

‡ P. S. I. 366 records a royal order while the king was camping at *Káraiya*úr.

approached by an official, or by a person or body of persons, or sometimes by a prince of the blood,* and requested to make a gift or declare some land tax-free. The State inscriptions mention different royal camps, and the names of the throne and the hall in the palaces of some Pāṇḍya kings. P. S. I. 243, for instance, mentions that Śrī Vallabhadēva issued an order seated on the throne called *Pāṇḍya rājan* in the hall *Aḷagiya Pāṇḍyan* of his palace at Madura, and P. S. I. 270, that Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I issued an order from the hall called *Ōlakkappalliyarai* in the Madura palace. A. R. E. 77 of 1916 refers to a throne called *Malavarāyan* in the king's palace at Ponnamarāvati, which was then perhaps a provincial capital. The submission of the request or appeal, and sometimes the officer making the request, are referred to in inscriptions as *Vijñāpti*. The king makes a solemn promise of grant, and orders that the necessary *ōlai* † may be issued to the authorities of the place to which the gift relates. The document begins with the title *kōṇērinmaikōṇḍān* and not always with the proper name of the king. To avoid delay in the official procedure, a demi-official note called *kaittāḍi* signed by one or more of the king's officers, is often sent direct to the donee.

The *ōlai* is finally drawn up under the orders of the king's officers, and is entered in the *uḷvari* or revenue-register by the officers of the Revenue department—*variyaḷai* or *puravaraiyār*. The document is then compared and attested by a number of other officers, among whom are the *uḍan-kūttam* or ministers and officials in personal attendance on the king, and the accountants and superintendents in charge of the *Varippottagam* or Demand, Collection and Balance statements. After passing through this elaborate process the *ōlai* becomes a *tiṭṭu*, ‡ which

* Eg. P. S. I. 250, 661.

† From the word *tulyam* meaning 'exact copy' found in some inscriptions, we may infer that the lithic and copper plate records are copies, while the originals, as the word *ōlai* suggests, were written on palm-leaves.

The *ōlai* is the first draft.

‡ An entry in the permanent record book.

is finally communicated as a *tirumugam* or *irimukham** and received by the addressee with great ceremony, and many manifestations of deference. †

The Army.—

The State inscriptions contain specific references to regiments and battalions. As Prof. Sastri observes each regiment had 'a corporate life of its own and was free to endow benefactions or build temples in its own name.' The State inscriptions mention the elephant corps—*ánaiyátkaḷ* or *kuñjara mallar*, the cavalry—*kudiraiccévagar*, and the infantry, mostly recruited from the Kaikkólar community, among whom was the special class of *válperrakaikkólar* or swordsmen. The *vélaiikkárar* were the Royal Guards, composed of detachments of cavalry, infantry and elephants, which were permanently mobilised in readiness for any emergency. ‡ In the second Pāṇḍyan Empire, this force was known as *Tennavan Ápattudavigal*, or 'the helpers of the Pāṇḍyans in times of danger.'

State inscriptions mention regiments with territorial or tribal names, for example, the *Pāṇḍippaḍai* or Pāṇḍya regiment, the *Maṟappaḍai* or Maṟava regiment, the *Éḷakkarppaḍai* or regiment stationed at Éḷakam and *Peruñjārpaḍai* or that stationed at Peruñjār.

Cantonments were known as *kaḍagams*. Military stations or villages held as military fiefs were called *paḍaiapparū*. State inscriptions mention the following important *paḍaiapparū*—Peruṅguḍi (P. S. I. 364), Malaiyālaṅguḍi (P. S. I. 403 at Péraiyyūr), Virāchilai (P. S. I. 421, 455, 462, 596), Mélaikkurundānpīrai (near Tirumayam 439, 453, 462), Kóṭṭaiyūr (462), Vayalaganāḍu or Vayalógam (583), Iḷaṅjār (Kóṭṭaiyūr 648), Kurundānpīrai or Ádanūr (354), Tirukkalambūr (392), Pulivalam (792), Kīranūr (744), Tirukkattalai (711) and Kīlaikkurichi (708).

* Royal order.

† Cf. among others P. S. I. 90, 126, 145, 148, 153, 163, 166, 182, 193, 243, 250, 270, 289, 312, 365, 369, 388, 523, 524 and 530.

‡ *Véḷai* = occasion or emergency.

Mélaittāṇaiyam and Kīlāttāṇaiyam, as their names indicate,* were garrisons—perhaps two of the oldest in the State. Koḍumbāṭūr, Nārttāmalai, Kīlānilai and Ponnamarāvati were important forts where many decisive engagements were fought. According to the Ceylonese chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa*, Ponnamarāvati was on the northern-most frontier of the Pāṇḍya country, and a line running from it to Kīlānilai, and thence to Maṇamēlkuḍi in the Tanjore district, divided the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya dominions in the 10th and 11th centuries, before the final subjugation of the Pāṇḍinaḍu by the Cōḷas. This line, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, marks the northern limit reached by the Sinhālese in their invasion of South India.

P. S. I. 1119 mentions a fort built by Śēma Pillaiyār at Tēnvāyūr or Temmāvūr, called Araśakaṇḍarāmankóṭṭai after one of his titles, *Araśakaṇḍarāman*.

A Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription (P. S. I. 125) of the 36th year of Kulóttuṅga I (A. D. 1106) mentions two army-corps—the *Mūṇruppaḍai-poṟkóyil-kaikkóḷar* and the *Nāṭṭup-ḍaḍai-Paḷiyili-Aiññūruvar*. The first or *Kaikkóḷar* corps was part of the regular army paid from the royal treasury, while the other was the popular militia employed perhaps for local defence† and organised by that ‘flawless’ band of merchantmen, the *Aiññūruvar*. These two corps co-operated with the local assembly at Kuḍumiyāmalai in maintaining a charitable endowment and celebrating the annual festivals.

State inscriptions give the names of several army chiefs who served under the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya kings and were designated *Sénápatis* or *Brahmádiráyars*.‡ The latter were perhaps Brāhmin generals. Non-combatant officers such as *ḍaḍaikkanaḱku* or military accountants are also mentioned occasionally (E. g. P. S. I. 392).

* *Tāṇaiyam* = garrison.

† K. A. N. Sastri: *Cōḷas*, ii, 230.

‡ P. S. I. 28, 98, 193, 321, 322.

Provinces.—The divisions of the provinces of the Cōla Empire continued with some modifications under the second Pāṇḍyan Empire, though their names were frequently altered. The State was included in the following provinces:—

I. *Kónādu* later known as *Kéralántaka Vaḷanādu*, then as *Iraṭṭaiippāḍi Koṇḍa Cōla Vaḷanādu*, and still later as *Kaḍalaḍai-yādu-ilāṅgaikoṇḍa-Cōla-Vaḷanādu*, covered parts of the modern Kulitalai and Trichinopoly Taluks, and the north and west of the State. The Pudukkōṭṭai portion comprised the following divisions:—

DIVISIONS.	IMPORTANT VILLAGES.
(a) Uṟattūr Kúṟṟam.	
i. North Kónāḍu	... Koḍumbālūr, Tiruvilāṅguḍi, Maḍattukkóvil, Paiyūr, Nāṅguppatti, Nīrpaḷani, Mīnavéli, Álattūr, Kaḍavampatti.
ii. East Kónāḍu	... Puvuvayal, Viruduráyakkuricoi.
(b) Appálváyil Kúṟṟam	... Nárttámalai, Madiyaṇūr, Irumbáḷi, Áriyūr, Annavásal.
(c) Ollaiyūr Kúṟṟam.	
i. Ollaiyūr náḍu	... Sáttanūr, Káraiyaṟ, Púválaikkuḍi, Maṟavámadurai, Kūḷattaṇiyam, Kaḷlampatti, Sundaram, Oliya-maṅgalam and Méḷattaṇiyam, and Idaiyáttūr which formed the South Kónāḍu.
ii. Kunriyūr Náḍu	... Kuḍumiyámalai, Parambūr, Pinnaṅguḍi, Péyál.
iii. Kúḍalūr Náḍu	... Cittūr, Púválaikkuḍi, Śevalūr, Sundaram, Kúḷalūr.

II. *Rāja Rāja Pāṇḍināḍu*, later known as *Rājendra Cōla-Vaḷanādu*.

i. Perumbūr Náḍu	... Anḍakkuḍi (?).
ii. Puṟamalai Náḍu	... Ponnamáravati, Piránmalai, Tiruk-kaḷambūr.
iii. Kána Náḍu* (a part)	... Perundurái.*

* This part of Kána Náḍu including Perundurái seems to have been later transferred to Virudarājabhayankara Vaḷa Náḍu.

III. *Pāṇḍikulāṣani-Vaḷaṇḍu* or *Jayasingakulakāḷa Vaḷaṇḍu*.

DIVISIONS.— <i>cont.</i>	IMPORTANT VILLAGES.— <i>cont.</i>
i. Kīḷṣengīlī Nāḍu.	
ii. Mīṣengīlī Nāḍu	... Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi, Viśalūr.
iii. Vaḍaṣiruvāyil Nāḍu	... Vāḷuvamaṅgalaṃ, Kīraṇūr, Tirup- pūr, Vīrakkuḍi, Nāḷūr, Oḍukkūr, Mōśakkuḍi, Kaḷḷikuḍi, Cheṭṭip- paṭṭi.
iv. Ten Śiruvāyil Nāḍu	... Vellaṇūr, Toḍaiyūr.
v. Vaḍapanaṅgāḍu Nāḍu	... Kunnāṇḍārkóvil, Temmāvūr.
vi. Tenpanaṅgāḍu Nāḍu	... Peruṅgaḷūr, Maṅgalaṃ, Vaittikóvil.
vii. Kīḷśuda Nāḍu	... Vārāppūr.
viii. Tenkavir Nāḍu	... Tiruvaṇṇūr, Kalaśamaṅgalaṃ, Śédikulamānikkapuram, Tiruḡó- karnam.
ix. Perivāyil Nāḍu	... Śirūṣunai, Śellukuḍi, Perumānāḍu, Tiruvēṅgaivāśal, Śēndamaṅgalaṃ.
x. Kuḷamaṅgala Nāḍu	... Tennāṅguḍi, Śombāttūr, Puṭṭāmbūr.

IV. *Rāja Rāja-Vaḷa Nāḍu*.

i. Puṇṇir Kūṟṭam	... Tirumanaḷjēri, Maḷaiyūr.
ii. Seṅgāṭṭu Nāḍu	... Kóvilūr.
iii. Kīḷippaṭṭu Nāḍu	... Tiruviḍaiyāpaṭṭi.
iv. Paṇṇiyūr Nāḍu	... Ambukkóvil.
v. Pālaiyūr Nāḍu	... Paḷankarai.
vi. Vallanāḍu-Kavirppāl	... Tirukkaṭṭalai, Tiruvaraṅgulaṃ.

V. *Kāna Nāḍu* or *Virudarājabhayankara Vaḷa Nāḍu* or *Adalaiyūr Nāḍu*.

i. Kalvāyil Nāḍu	... Tulaiyānūr, Pillamaṅgalaṃ, Kaṇḍá- varam, Rāṅgiyam, Neivāśal.
ii. Seṅgunṇa Nāḍu	... Neḍuṅguḍi.
iii. Turumā Nāḍu	... Kaṇṇanūr, Durvāśapuram.
iv. Mīḷilaikkūṟṭam*	
{ Middle Kūṟṭu	... Irumbānāḍu.
{ (Nāduviṇ Kūṟṭu)	
{ Western Kūṟṭu	... Vāḷaramāpikkam, Tānjūr.
{ (Mēl Kūṟṭu or	
Pāmbāṭṭuppaṭṭu).	

* The Eastern Kūṟṭam comprised villages in the adjacent part of the Tanjore district.

DIVISIONS—*cont.*IMPORTANT VILLAGES—*cont.*

v. Kāna Nāḍu proper	... Kóṭṭaiyūr, Malaiyakkóvil, Dévar-malai, Munasandai, Pérai-yūr, Perundurai, Viráchilai, Pulivalam, Ádanúr, Mélúr, Únaiyūr, Tiru-mayam.
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Administration of Justice.—

The administration of justice was an important function of the local assemblies. The king's court only tried extraordinary cases. Offences against the person of the king or any member of the royal family were tried by the king himself. One form of punishment for such offences was the confiscation of the offender's property, which was then sold by auction.

Village assemblies had small committees of judges known as *Nyáyattár*. The disappointed party could appeal to the Administrator of the *nāḍu*. There seems to have been no clear distinction between civil and criminal offences. Offences against individuals were regarded as offences against the community, and hence the penalty imposed on offenders often consisted of payments of money, or gifts of land or lamps, to temples.

Theft, adultery, forgery and murder were among the serious offences involving loss of franchise, out-lawry, and, occasionally, confiscation of property. Cattle-lifting, and damage to crops, tanks, wells and gardens are other offences frequently mentioned in the State inscriptions. The Penal Code was very lenient; even serious offences were only punished with fine. There is an example of trial by ordeal in P. S. I. 601. The temple priests of Kuḍumiyāmalai had stolen money and jewels belonging to the temple, and denied having done so. One of them turned approver, and the others were made to handle a red-hot plough-share. They were finally dealt with by the *nāḍu* composed of the representatives of a number of village and town assemblies, meeting as a special tribunal, presided over by the *Sámantan*

or king's officer or local governor, and condemned as *Śiva-dróhins* or sinners against God. They were finally sentenced to imprisonment; their lands, tanks and fields, trees over-ground and wells under-ground were confiscated and transferred as *tirundāmtukkāni*, that is, 'to the ownership of the God of the temple,' and those who had mortgage or other rights over the lands of the offenders were ordered to relinquish them to the temple, on receipt of the sums that they had originally advanced.

The dispute between the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite priests of Tirumayam recorded in P. S. I. 340 and 341 deserves detailed mention. It was adjudicated by a special tribunal composed of the members of the *nāḍu*, representing the towns and villages of the district, the *Samayamantris* or royal priests, ordinary priests of both the sects belonging to Tirumayam and the important temples of the neighbouring districts, and the Araiyaṛs, and presided over by the Hoysāla general Appaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka. The share of the produce of the temple lands was in dispute, and the divine service in both the temples had been suspended. The accounts were carefully scrutinized by the tribunal, and the following award was made. The net produce of the temple lands, after payment of all revenue dues, was divided between the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in the ratio of 2: 3; the *dēvadāna* and *tiruvīḍaiyāṭṭam* lands were so re-distributed that no plot belonging to one temple should be surrounded by the lands of the other. It was ordered that a partition wall, the position and dimensions of which were specified, should be put up between the two shrines, each party contributing its share of the expenses in proportion to the taxes that it paid. The pool on the eastern side of the Viṣṇu shrine was allotted to it, with the proviso that the water should be baled out, and that any Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite image found in it was to be installed in the proper temple, and all other valuable finds were to be divided between the parties in proportion to the taxes that each paid.

The well inside the entrance of the Śiva temple was declared to be its exclusive property, and a similar appropriation of anything found when baling out the water was ordered. The house sites adjoining the temples, and the lands and gardens that they held in common, were apportioned between the Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites; and all lands that had been forfeited to the community in consequence of their owners' default in payment of taxes were assigned to both the temples, with the stipulation that they should enjoy the produce in equal shares. Provision was made for the separate remuneration of drummers in the two temples. An interesting feature of the award was the direction that old inscriptions relating to all prior grants superseded by the new award, particularly one inscription in an unknown script and language*, were to be obliterated, and that all other inscriptions relating to one temple but found in the other were to be copied and reinscribed by the trustees in the proper temple. Violation of this settlement was made punishable with a heavy cash fine payable to the king.

Disputes, especially those relating to civil rights, sometimes dragged on for years without adjudication until time brought its own settlement. The procedure in criminal trials was of a rough-and-ready kind, but care was taken to see that the decision did not shock the public conscience, but followed the traditional interpretation of the *Smṛti*, or old Hindu social and legal codes. Extra-judicial methods were much in vogue in the arbitration of disputes and in levying penalties. Some inscriptions in the State record agreements not to commit offences. The assembly of Kīranūr passed a solemn resolution that its members should not damage tanks, trees, fields, wells or towns should any quarrel arise among them, and any violation of this undertaking should be punishable by the confiscation of a

* The record referred to here is an inscription on music in Pallava grantha of which a few fragments are still to be seen. Had it been spared by this august tribunal, we could to-day boast of the presence in the State of two musical inscriptions of Mahēndravarmān. One is at Kuḍumiyāmalai,

part of the cultivated land belonging to the offender, which was forfeited to the temple (P. S. I. 156). The *nādu*, or district-assembly, of Vaḍapanaṅgāḍu *nādu* resolved that persons who committed any offence against person or property on the highway or in the fields of Ambanavar Nalvayalūr, should be punished by the forfeiture of a part of their holdings to the temple of Kunnāndārkóvil (P. S. I. 186). P. S. I. 491 records an agreement among the villagers of Rājaśiṅgamaṅgalam or Rāngiam that none of them should commit theft, robbery or dacoity, on pain of forfeiture of lands and a fine of 500 *paṇam*. P. S. I. 595 records a feud between two sections of the Araiyaṛs living in Púvaraśaḡuḍi in which some persons were stabbed. They agreed to compose their differences, and inscribed on stone their resolve to live in peace for ever more. Similar compacts are recorded in three inscriptions at Tiruvaraṅgulam (P. S. I. 617-619).*

Local Government.—

As Prof. Sastri observes, 'Government by means of primary assemblies composing the adult males of each village was the central feature of rural organisation.' State inscriptions also mention other corporations or groups of a social, religious or economic character which were, however, controlled by the general assemblies.

The assemblies were the *úr*, the *sabha*, the *nagaram* and the *nādu*.

The úr and the sabha. The term *úr* means not only village or town, with its *kuḍikkāḍu* or hamlets, but also the assembly of the village. From the expression *Uróm* in the formula found at the beginning of inscriptions—*Urdyisainda-Uróm*, meaning "the residents of a village in meeting assembled," it is clear that the meetings were attended by all the adult residents. A few villages, for instance Kumāramaṅgalam and Amaṅguḍi in Úrattúrkúṛram (P. S. I. 198), had two *úrs* or assemblies.

* See also P. S. I. 82, 107, 215, 218, and 370.

The *sabha*, termed in the State inscriptions *peruṅguri sabha* or *mahāsabha*, was the assembly in a Brahmin village called *Brahmadēyam* or *Caturvēdimāṅgalam*. * Some villages had both the *ūr* for the village with its hamlets, and the *sabha* for the *agaram* or *agrahāram*,—the Brahmin part of the village, and the two acted conjointly in matters concerning the common interests of the whole village. The members of *sabhas* whose names appear in the State inscriptions are all people who bear one or more of the titles—*Sōmayāji* meaning 'one who has performed a Sōma sacrifice,' *Kramavitta* † or *Caturvēdin*, which indicates what importance was attached to a knowledge of the scriptures and the codes of Laws as qualifications for nomination to the *sabhas*. It is not unlikely that all the qualifications for membership of the *sabha* applied also to the *ūr*, except knowledge of the Vēdic Scriptures.

The executive body of the *ūr* was known as *āḷuṅṅam*, or simply *ṅam*. The assemblies had as many committees known as *Vāriyams* ‡ as circumstances demanded. There were for instance, committees for annual audit and supervision, for the supervision of tanks and gardens, the judicial committees and taxation committees. The members of the *Vāriyam* were selected by lot. § Only people between the ages of 35 and 70, of good character with a capacity for business, and possessing not less than quarter of a *vēli* of land and a house of which they owned the site, were selected.

* *Caturvēdimāṅgalam*, or simply *māṅgalam*, was a village granted by royal command to Brahmins versed in the four Vēdas.

† This is a technical term relating to the particular manner of reciting Vēdic texts. E. g. P. S. I. 28 and 90.

‡ *Vāriyam* comes from the word *Vārya* = selected.

§ The expression used in inscriptions is *Kuḍa-ōlai*. Bits of palm-leaf on which the names of eligible persons were written were put into a narrow-mouthed pot and well shaken in the presence of the whole assembly, and a child was employed to take out one after another as many of them as there were vacant seats on the committee. See *Cōlas* Vol. II, p. 284 footnote.

Almost every village in the state had the *úr*; and the larger ones, as stated above, two. The following are the important *Caturvédimāṅgalams* mentioned in the State inscriptions.

Vikramakésaricaturvédimāṅgalam including the modern village of Tiruvilāṅguḍi. (P. S. I. 89, 90, 98, etc.)

Madurāntakacaturvédimāṅgalam or the modern village of Samudram. (P. S. I. 89).

Kópparavíratuṅga Caturvédimāṅgalam (P. S. I. 89).

Sri Parāntaka Caturvédimāṅgalam or Panaiyúr (P. S. I. 89).

Ādinārāyana Caturvédimāṅgalam (P. S. I. 89).

Alagiyamaṇavāḷa Caturvédimāṅgalam or Srikaitavan Kaitavan—the modern Kaḍavanpaṭṭi (P. S. I. 151, 544).

Malayadhvaja Caturvédimāṅgalam or Vétkúr (P. S. I. 245).

Virudharājabhayaṅkara Caturvédimāṅgalam or Śirusunai (P. S. I. 350).

Nṛpakésari Caturvédimāṅgalam or Maṭṭiyúr (P. S. I. 393).

Cólasikhāmaṇi Caturvédimāṅgalam or Samamaṅgala-nallúr near Maravāmadurai (P. S. I. 420).

Udayadivākara Caturvédimāṅgalam or Tiruvappúr (P. S. I. 475).

Kulasékharā Caturvédimāṅgalam or Kàraiyr (P. S. I. 584).

Ômkāranātha Caturvédimāṅgalam near Ādanúr (P. S. I. 623).

Śivabhaktasékharāmaṅgalam near Tirumaṇaṅjéri (P. S. I. 770).

Sundararāja Caturvédimāṅgalam or Nerkuṇṇam—the modern Nekkōṇam in the Tirumayam Taluk (P. S. I. 979).

Tirunārāyaṇa Caturvédimāṅgalam or Kilikkuḍi (P. S. I. 700).

Tirumayam and Péraiyr were important *Dēvadāna Brāhma-dēyams* with *sabhas* though not termed *Caturvédimāṅgalams*. Siṅgamaṅgalam or Rāṅgiam, Sēndamaṅgalam, Kumāramaṅgalam, Aiññuṇṇuvamaṅgalam or Kūḍalur in Koḷaṭṭúr Taluk, Kārimaṅgalam or Kāramaṅgalam, Oliyamaṅgalam and Kalasa-maṅgalam were other important Brāhmin villages.

The *Nādu* was the territorial assembly representing a larger administrative division.* Prof. Sastri says† “one wonders if the assembly of the *nādu* was constituted by the representatives of each of the villages in it coming together, the accountants being present among them.” Three State inscriptions, P. S. I. 198, 444 and 546 set at rest all doubts about the composition of the *nādu*.

P. S. I. 198 at Kīranūr, dated in the 28th year of the reign of a king Rāja Rāja, mentions the grant of *iraiyili* or tax-free rights over certain lands sold to the temple as *tirunātmattukkāni* at a joint session of the *nādu*s of Kīlkónādu and Vaḍasīruvāynādu. The *nādu* of Kīlkónādu was constituted by the representatives of the *úrs* of Pudevayal, Kīlappudevayal, Pāppākkurichi, Kalamāyil or Kalamāvūr, Tachampatti, Pallampañchavammādevi, Ālattūr and Ānnaiyūr, and that of Vaḍasīruvāynādu, by those of the *úrs* of Kīranūr, Uppilikkudi, Sirupālūr, Kaikkudiyūr, Ānaiyūr, Śirukalattūr, Irañjāvūr, and of the two *úrs* functioning in each of the villages of Kumarāmaṅgalam, Amaṅgudi, and Iraingudi. The Araiyaars of the *nādu*s were also present. P. S. I. 444 at Puvālakkuḍi dated in the 16th year (A. D. 1330) of the reign of Māravarma Kulasekharadēva (acc. 1314) mentions a grant of land as tax-free *dēvadānam* to the temple by the *nādu* of Vaḍapaṛṇādu, composed of the representatives of the *úrs* of Kuḷipirai, Sembūdi, Madiyāni, Arasarmikāmannilai (or Arasamalai?), and Ténūr, with whom sat also the representatives of the *úr* of Sevalūr in the adjoining Kūḍalūrnādu. P. S. I. 546 at Kīranūr dated the 43rd year of the reign of a Kulasekharadēva, mentions the revised constitution of the *nādu* of Vaḍasīruvāinādu. The expression ‘*nāṭṭukkuccamainda-úróm*’ in the inscription clearly indicates that the *nādu* was made up of the representatives of the *úrs*.

* *Nāḍāyisaindanādu* = residents of the *nādu* (district) meeting in the *nādu* (district assembly). cf. P. S. I. 38.

† *Cólas* Vol. II, p. 296.

The *nāḍu* endowed charities in its own name (P. S. I. 85) and managed them (P. S. I. 36). P. S. I. 186 (A. D. 1149) mentions that the Vaḍapanāṅgaḍu *nāḍu* imposed a penalty amounting to one *ma* of arable land, which was later assigned to the temple, for offences against property and those committed on the highway near Nalvayalūr. The *nāḍu* that met at Tirumayam co-operated with the king's officers in the administration of justice. (P. S. I. 340 and 341 discussed above).

The Nagaram. (lit. Town assembly)—This was the primary assembly of merchants. It functioned side by side with the *ūr*. We learn from the State inscriptions that the *nagaram* functioned efficiently in the following places, which seem to have been important mercantile centres.

Teliṅgakulakālapuram or Nārttāmalai (P. S. I. 91, 112, 113, 114, 125-A, 158, 170, 200, 279, and 325).

Koḍumbālūr, which had two *nagarams* (P. S. I. 82).

Virudarājabhayaṅkarapuram or Peruṅguḍi (P. S. I. 184).

Sundara Cōlapuram or Désiyugantapaṭṭanam or Sundaram (P. S. I. 189 and 422).

Pillamaṅgalam also known as Sundarapāṇḍyapuram (in P. S. I. 390) or Cōlapāṇḍiyapuram (P. S. I. 408).

Arumolidevapuram in Kānanāḍu near Tiruvaraṅgulam (P. S. I. 487).

Kulasékharapuram (P. S. I. 491) and Śeṇīkulamānikkapuram, parts of modern Pudukkóttai town.

Śéliyanārāyanapuram or modern Aḷagāpuri near Pillamaṅgalam. (A. R. E. 150 of 1903).

Like all the other assemblies, the *nagaram* received gifts for temples and managed them, declared land tax-free and effected sales and transfers. The assembly of Nārttāmalai, which was a flourishing *nagaram* until about the 14th century, is mentioned as a mere *ūr* or village assembly in later inscriptions, possibly because of the migration of the merchants to the south of the Vellār, which reduced the importance of the place from a city of merchants to a mere village.

How the assemblies functioned.—The assembly was summoned by a general proclamation by beat of drum. The meetings were fully attended, and decisions were reached by common agreement. They were generally held in the temple *maṇḍapam** or in a common hall known as the *ūrmaṇḍam*.† A Virāchilai inscription ‡ mentions that an assembly met in a flower garden. It was not uncommon for the meetings to be held in the shade of trees, and a Tiruvilāṅguḍi inscription § relates that the *Peruṅguri* sabha deliberated on the bund of an irrigation tank, which on that account came to be known as the *Attāṇipē-ṭri* (*attāṇi*=place of meeting).

As Prof. Sastri remarks,|| the procedure at meetings was ‘on the whole rudimentary, and the assemblies had, but for their executives, hardly outgrown the stage of folk-gatherings.’

The State inscriptions give interesting information regarding the functions of the assemblies. They freely disposed of unassigned land either by gift or by sale. The gifts were mostly made to temples, with the object of maintaining gardens, ¶ instituting festivals, providing for dramatic and other entertainments, renovating or repairing *maṇḍapams*, organising and maintaining a staff of temple servants and priests, instituting divine services known as *sandhis*, providing for the daily offerings to the gods of food, ghee, curds, milk, etc., or keeping lamps burning continuously. Lands sold and endowed to temples, and *maḍappurams* or feeding-houses, were often declared by the assemblies to be *iraiyili* or tax-free. The assemblies sometimes sold land by auction to private individuals who subsequently endowed them to temples (e.g. P. S. I. 476, 479,

* E. g. P. S. I. 176, 398, and 601.

† P. S. I. 441.

‡ P. S. I. 705.

§ P. S. I. 90.

|| *Cōlas* Vol. II, p. 299.

¶ Cf. P. S. I. 81, 84, 85, 89, 90, 91, 99, 100, 374, 408, 417, 428, 438, 441, 448, 444, 448, 472, 492, 504, 532, etc.

487, 488, 494, 500, 508, 509). They helped the temple authorities by accepting and managing the endowments to temples, by effecting sales or other transfers of *devadānam* lands, and, co-operating in fixing the rent-in-kind payable to temples by their tenants.* Persons making endowments to temples and charitable institutions entrusted to the assembly sums, often calculated at the capitalised value of the amount to be spent annually, and the assembly undertook to make regular payments to the institutions. Thus the assembly supervised all transactions relating to the temple, kept it in good repair and saw to the proper conduct of worship.

The assembly was responsible for the collection and payment to the King's treasury of the entire revenue of the village. It often fixed the rates of taxes for the different holdings on the basis of the average output of crop, and the facilities for irrigation that the lands enjoyed (P. S. I. 116). P. S. I. 375 records that the assembly of Viśalūr was unable to pay the taxes demanded by the King's officers or the local chiefs, and had to raise 64,000 *kāṣu* by the sale of three *Vēlis* of land to the temple at Kuḍumiyāmalai. In Sriparāntakanallūr or Irumbānāḍu, some persons who were defaulters absconded, and the revenue-officers called on the assembly to make good the amount, which it did by borrowing from a resident of the village, and later selling him some land and the right to take water from the irrigation tank. (P. S. I. 376).†

When the assembly declared certain holdings tax-free, it distributed the amount so remitted among the other holdings in the village, so that the total revenue payable to the King's treasury was not diminished.‡ Lands declared tax-free in this way were known as *Urkiḷiraiyili* or 'exempted from taxes by the ūr.' The taxpayer had the option of commuting the tax on his holdings for a single payment of a capitalized sum to the

* E. g. P. S. I. 447, 448, 476, 479, 486 and 494.

† Cf. P. S. I. 401 also.

‡ Cf. P. S. I. 20, 158, 198, 416 and 417.

assembly, which then undertook to pay the annual taxes on his behalf to the King's treasury.

The Assembly exercised the right of imposing local cesses. P. S. I. 125 mentions the levy by the *nāṭṭārs* of *Irattaippāḍikōn-dacōḷavaḷanāḍu*, of a duty-in-kind on betel leaves and areca-nuts brought into that *nāḍu*. A *Nārttāmalai* inscription mentions a marriage-tax. Some other inscriptions (e. g. 149 and 155) refer to the total remission or reduction of local cesses. The assembly freely changed the nature of tenures whenever necessary*, especially when it bought land from temples and sold them to private individuals and *vice versa*.

P. S. I. 268 and 301 record instances in which the assembly sold in public auction lands on which the taxes were in arrear, and applied the amount realised to works of public utility. There are also instances of waste or abandoned lands being sold by the assembly to persons who undertook to reclaim them and bring them under cultivation.

It was one of the duties of the assembly to determine the boundaries of lands, and to prevent disputes.† P. S. I. 481 records that a temple servant complained of diminution in the area of his holdings as the result of a survey, whereupon the *nāḍu* compensated him for the deficiency.

The assembly did not neglect works of public utility. P. S. I. 326 mentions the allocation of sites for a street. Several inscriptions‡ refer to the care that assemblies bestowed on the maintenance of tanks, wells, channels and other irrigation sources. They also rewarded public benefactors. An artisan who repaired a temple was exempted from payment of land-tax (P. S. I. 200). A shepherd was awarded the title of *Mānikkakōn*, besides gifts in kind at the time of the annual harvest, for some meritorious service the nature of which has not been mentioned (P. S. I. 455).

* E. g. P. S. I. 125-A 170, 343, 345, 347, 350, 367 and 387.

† E. g. P. S. I. 161, 170, 190 and 414.

‡ E. g. P. S. I. 127, 346, 383, 475, 477 and 478.

To ensure the proper maintenance of order in villages and districts, the assembly granted or sold *Pádikkaval* rights* to capable men, especially to local chieftains. P. S. I. 197 relates that the assembly of Temmávúr utilised the fines imposed on offenders for the expenses of the *Pádikkaval*. We have already mentioned how the assembly exercised judicial authority and tried both civil and criminal cases.† The concern that the assembly showed for the protection of the interests of the village is well illustrated in P. S. I. 373, which records how the *nádu* of Vallanādu undertook to meet the exactions ‡ of a rapacious Hoysāla general.

There are frequent references in State inscriptions to joint sessions of the different assemblies—the *nádu*, *naḡaram*, *sabha*, *úr*, and *paḍaiṇṇar*. Such meetings were no doubt held on important occasions. P. S. I. 285 relates that all the assemblies of Kónādu met and agreed to carry out extensive repairs to the Kuḍumiyāmalai temple. They decided to levy contributions from people of all castes within the *nádu*. P. S. I. 340 and 341, relating to the dispute between the Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivites of Tirumayam have already been discussed. P. S. I. 447, mentions a meeting at Kúḍalúr of the assemblies of Tenkónādu. The *Kiḷavan* or headman of Ilḷanúr absconded, but two persons cited as sureties were summoned before this joint-session and required to pay all the dues up-to-date. Similar sessions were frequently held to carry on joint deliberations with the temple authorities in matters relating to temple administration.

The assembly maintained a paid staff of executive officers. Among them were surveyors, supervisors and accountants or *Kanakku*. The *madhyasta* is frequently referred to in inscriptions. He was not an arbitrator—which is the literal meaning of

* Eg. 142, 439, 440, 454 and 491.

† P. S. I. 156, 176, 184, 186, and 216, among others, throw much light upon this function of the assembly.

‡ *Śtraivari* = exactions.

the term—though occasionally he served under the judicial committees of the assemblies. From various contexts we gather that his duties were to write up the accounts and record the resolutions; in other words he was the Secretary.* He attended the meetings and assisted the proceedings with his expert knowledge but did not participate in the deliberations.

Though the assemblies were practically autonomous they were subject to general supervision and audit by the King's officers, who frequently attended the meetings.

This brief estimate of the functions of the assemblies may be summed up in Prof. Sastri's words,—‘Between an able bureaucracy and the active local assemblies which in various ways fostered a live sense of citizenship, there was attained a high standard of administrative efficiency and purity, perhaps the highest ever attained by the Hindu State†.’

Other groups and guilds :

There were other groups, which probably were not formally incorporated, though they bought and sold and carried on transactions in their group capacity. Among these were the Merchant-guilds, which are described later on in this section. Others were professional groups. The groups of priests—lay and celibate—were designated by the generic terms—*Śiva-brāhmaṇas* and *Pān-māhēśvaras* in Śiva temples, and *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas* and *Vaiṣṇava-nasas* in Viṣṇu temples. They are mentioned in several inscriptions in the State, and their protection is invoked at the end of almost every inscription relating to grants, in the formula—*Pān-māhēśvararakṣai* or *Śrī Vaiṣṇavarakṣai*. In almost every temple in the State these groups functioned as corporations independent of their changing personnel. They are described later on in this section.

* H. g. P. S. I. 90.

† *Colas* Vol. II, p. 312.

Agriculture, Revenue, Taxation and Finance.—

Vellán Vagai or peasant-proprietorship; *Vellálan-parru* or the 'ryot-wari' village.

Inscriptions of this period show that land was sometimes the property of the community and sometimes owned by individuals. Temple and private lands alike were often cultivated by tenants who paid fixed *mélvāram*.

Service Tenures.—These were of various kinds. The following are mentioned in State inscriptions :—

1. *Padaipparru*—land assigned to a feudal chieftain on condition of his maintaining a stated number of soldiers ready for service.

2. *Udirappatti* *—land given to the dependents of those who fell in battle.

3. *Kulappatti*; *Eripatti*; *Uranippuram* †—land given for maintenance of and repairs to tanks and lakes.

4. *Bhōga*, *Jivita*—*Jivitapparru*—land granted for specified services to the temple or the village. Among grants of this type mentioned in State inscriptions are lands granted for performing daily worship—*arccandbhōgam*; ‡ for cleaning the temple floor—*melukkuttadaval* or *tirumelukkuppuram*; § for supplying oil to anoint the gods—*tiruveṇṇaikkāpuram*; || for keeping the sanctuary lamp alight—*tiruvilakkuppuram*; ¶ for keeping the temple yard clean—*tirumurrattukkāni*; ¶¶ for cooking in the temple kitchen—*tirumadappallipuram*; ¶¶¶ for tending the temple garden—*tirunandavanappuram*; ** and to the temple pipers, trumpeters,

* P. S. I. 177 and 411. It is quite possible that the term represented also blood-money (*udirappaḍi*).

† Eg. P. S. I. 25, 28, 59, 60, 61, 71, 132, 165, 342, 346, 347 and 477.

‡ P. S. I. 30.

§ P. S. I. 30, 90 and 130.

|| P. S. I. 479, 487 and 494.

¶ P. S. I. 171.

** P. S. I. 141.

land-owner. Such lands might either have been purchased from previous owners or be village common land assigned to temples by the assemblies. *Dévadánam* lands held by Viṣṇu temples are described in some inscriptions, especially in the later ones, by the special term—*tiruviḍaiyáṭṭam*.*

Communal Ownership.—Villages held in common by particular castes or communities come under this class. Examples that occur in State inscriptions are:—

Agarapparru or Brāhmin villages; *Kaḷḷapparru* or Kaḷḷar villages; *Vellānapparru* or Vellālar villages; *Iḷamakkalapparru* or Iḷaiyar villages and *Vanniyapparru* or Vanniyar villages. *Kuḍiparru* is the generic name by which villages owned by any of the eighteen castes (see p. 549 above) are referred to in State inscriptions.†

Kāraṇmai and Mīyāṭci or tenancy and free-hold rights.—

When the landlord was himself the cultivator, he was known as a *kī-kāraṇmai-uḍaiya-kuḍi* or owner-cultivator. When land was transferred by sale or gift from one owner to another it did not necessarily follow on that account that cultivating tenants could be evicted by the vendee or donee; they were ordinarily unaffected by the transfer. If such tenants were liable to eviction, the fact was clearly recited in the conveyance-deed. Thus we read in inscriptions of lands that were *kuḍi-nīṇḍa-kāraṇmai-mīyāṭci* or lands sold free-hold but the tenants of which were not liable to eviction, and *kuḍi-nīṇḍa-dévadánam*‡ or lands given to temples subject to the same restriction. Lands of which the tenants could be evicted after conveyance were called *kuḍi-nīkki-kāraṇmai-mīyāṭci*, or *kuḍi-nīkki-dévadánam*.§ The same distinction is found in deeds

* See P. S. I. 126-A, 171, 220, 360, 371, 377, 398, 408, 420, 439, 440 475 and 494.

† See P. S. I. 176, 184, 285, 434, 443, 455, 484, 514 and 518.

‡ See P. S. I. 195-A, 138, 148, 151, 170, 176, 187, 195, 219, 281, 344, 347, 349, 350, 354, 355, 383, 386, 387 and 475.

§ P. S. I. 30 and 327.

relating to temple-lands held under service tenures. P. S. I. 384 and 494 for instance, mention *kuḍi-ningāt-tirunandā viḷakkup-puram* or lands given for the maintenance of temple-lamps the tenants of which could not be evicted.

The temple-committees often assigned the right of cultivation and enjoyment of temple-lands to private persons in return for a fixed share of the yield. This tenure was known as *kāraṅkiḷamai*. The deeds evidencing such transactions mentioned whether the tenants could be evicted or not.*

Taxation.—

Taxes were paid in kind or in cash, or sometimes in both. *Irai* or *Vari* is the general term used in inscriptions for taxes. *Kuḍimai* in its narrower sense means 'tenancy dues'; in a wider sense it means 'the obligations of citizenship,' which were either *antarāyam* or what was due to the king, or *viniyōgam* or what was due to the local assembly.

Land remission was called *iraiyili*.† When the tax on a land was remitted by royal order, an entry was made in the revenue register. When the tax was remitted by the assembly, the remission was called *ūr-kil-iraiyili*,‡ but since the total revenue due to the State by the village still had to be paid, the assembly had to distribute the amount remitted among the other holdings in the village. It was open to a tenant to commute his land-tax in perpetuity by paying a lump sum to the assembly

* P. S. I. 343, 351, 424 and 485 mention *kuḍi-ningāt-kāraṅkiḷamaikkāni*.

† *Dharmadāna iraiyili* = tax-free lands given in charity—P. S. I. 124, 439 and 440. *Paḷḷuccandam iraiyili* = tax-free lands of Jain temples—P. S. I. 530. *Maḍappuṭa iraiyili* = tax-free monastic lands—P. S. I. 376. *Dēvadanam iraiyili* = tax-free temple lands—P. S. I. 133, 145, 157, 158, 170, 198, 401, 402, 403 and 509. *Irai-yili-kāraṅkiḷamai* = tax-free temple lands held by private individuals—P. S. I. 332 and 376. *Irai-yili-uḍirappai* = tax-free lands held by dependents of persons who had fallen in battle—P. S. I. 411. *Irai-yili kuḷappai* = tax-free land endowed for the maintenance of tanks—P. S. I. 28 and 36.

‡ See P. S. I. 153, 158, 376, 395, 401, 405 and 472.

which undertook to pay all future dues on his behalf, and gave him a document embodying this arrangement, which was known as *irai-kával*.*

The lists of remissions found in State inscriptions give us an idea of the very large number of minor cesses and octroi duties† that were imposed. The following are examples:—

Ulgú was a tax on toll-keepers, and *ilampúcci*, a duty on toddy drawers. There were taxes on professions, for example, *vannárappárai*—on washermen; *kanakkuvari*—on accountants; *tattárapáttam*—on goldsmiths; *śekkirai*—on oil-pressers; and *idaiyan vari*—on shepherds. *Kaḍai-irai* was a cess on shops, *maramañjádi*, a cess amounting to one *mañjádi* of gold on each fruit-bearing tree, and *kiḍákkáśu*, a cess on each head of male cattle. *Manaikkátcipéru* was perhaps a cess on house-sites, and *kúraikkáśu*, one levied for thatching houses. *Manrupádu* and *dandam* were fines collected from offenders convicted by the assemblies

Minpáttam or *pátippáttam* was the sum paid by the lessees of the right to fish in tanks and rivers. The money thus collected was used to improve tanks and channels.

P. S. I. 656–659, which are orders of unidentified Pāṇḍya kings granting *iraiyili* rights to lands endowed as *dēvadānam*, *palliccandam* and gifts to watersheds, enumerate the following taxes and imposts:—the *kaḍamai* on cultivated lands, including *mávaḍai* or cess on mango trees, *maravaḍai*, cess on trees in general and *kuḷavaḍai* or cess on tanks, *vaṭṭam* or trade-profits tax

* P. S. I. 90 and 100.

† The following inscriptions may be referred to for a list of cesses and taxes. P. S. I. 20, 90, 99, 134, 145, 146, 147 to 149, 151, 153, 154, 158, 161, 163, 168, 170, 179, 187, 193, 195, 196, 198, 219, 220, 245 to 247, 277, 305, 307, 309, 316 to 318, 321, 327 to 330, 335, 337, 340, 342, 351, 364 to 367, 383, 392, 393, 395, 401, 402, 409, 416, 421, 424, 442, 443, 439, 440, 447, 453, 464, 465, 472, 477, 479, 486, 487, 492, 495, 496, 500, 504, 506, 508, 514, 518, 521, 525, 529 to 531, 533 and 538.

pañjupili or tax on cotton, *vāṣalpēru* or tax on doors, *ōlaiyeḷuttu-viniyōgam* or cess collected for the maintenance of the village scribe(?), *lāñcanaipēru* or cess on property marks such as trade-marks, *eṇṇaipāṇḍam* or tax on lights, *āḷtēvai* or *corvée* (?), *maḍiltēvai* or forced labour for erecting fortifications, *taccuttēvai* and *koṟtēvai* or obligation to furnish carpenters and masons, *yānaiccālai*, *kudiraipandi*, *ariṣittēvai* or contribution for the maintenance of elephant—and horse-stables and granaries, *āḷvari* or poll-tax, *manaivari* or house-tax, *ērvāri* or tax on ploughs; *iḍaivari* or *iḍaiyavari* or tax levied on milkmen, *tari-irai* or tax on looms, *śekku-irai*, or tax on oil-mills, *taḷḷolitattārpāṭṭam* or tax levied on goldsmiths, and *nirani* or a cess to be paid to the village menials for distribution of water for irrigation*.

Eccōru or *Ercōru* frequently mentioned in inscriptions means the obligation on the part of the owners of some holdings to give a handful of cooked rice at night to artisans such as washermen, barbers and carpenters. We have already mentioned on page 549 above that the men of the 'eighteen castes', who were the dependents of the Vellāḷars, were paid for their services in kind, and occasionally fed in the houses of their employers. *Pañcavāra*, a cess collected in kind—paddy, gram, dholl, oil and ghee, and *karpūravilai*[†] were levied from temples. *Pāḍikāval* was a cess paid to remunerate the village watchman. The village assemblies exacted from some landholders forced labour, or *veṭṭimuttaiyāl* or free-feeding of labourers whom they had to engage.

There are references to taxes on certain commodities—betel-leaves and areca-nuts are examples already mentioned on p. 657 above. P. S. I. 365 mentions a duty on carts carrying bags of salt or dholl.

* Other taxes or imposts mentioned in the State inscriptions are *sandi-vigrahapēru* *niḷḷappaccar*, *kārtigaipaccar*, *eḍuttukkdāḷḷumpaccar* (*paccar* = tribute), *āṣivāṣi* and *vēdam*. The meaning of these words is not now known.

† *Karpūravilai* is a *siddhāya* or a tax paid in cash.

Another common cess was the *kannḍavari* or marriage tax.*

Many of these small dues were paid in cash. As Prof. Sastri points out†, these long lists of local imposts do not signify that the people were ground down. The incidence of taxation was on the whole light. He thinks‡ that in the centuries of Cōla rule, "cultivators had to give up in one way or another something well over 40% of the gross produce; a rate that does not compare unfavourably with what we know of the land-tax under the Vijayanagar or the Moghul rulers." P. S. I. 343 at Palañkarai (A. D. 1250) mentions that the *mēlvāram* payable to the temple on *dēvadānam* land was one-third of the produce.§ Later inscriptions, after the decline of the Cōla power, refer occasionally to exactions and oppression by marauding generals and unscrupulous local chieftains.

The annual tax was levied only on lands on which crops had been raised. The out-turn of the crop was estimated at the harvest, and remissions were made when crops failed owing to flood, drought, or other acts of God|| or were destroyed by hostile armies. The assessment was revised periodically with reference to changes in cropping and the fertility of the soil.

Classification of lands.—

Cultivated land was classified as *puncey* (*puñjai*) or *nancey* (*nañjai*). *Nañjai* was also known as *nirnilam* or wet-land, and

* P. S. I. 281. Even to this day no wedding in a Hindu home in the State is concluded without offering betel leaves, areca-nuts and cocoanuts with or without money, nominally as tribute to the Ruler (*Rājasambhāvana*) and the village-community (*grāma-sambhāvana*)—a vestige perhaps of the marriage-tax levied by kings and assemblies in Cōla and Pāṇḍya times. The offerings are now actually given to a respectable guest or to the officiating priest.

† Cōlas Vol. II., pp. 324—325.

‡ *Ibid* p. 335.

§ See also P. S. I. 250, 257, 267, 281, 383, 386, 403, 406, 412, 436, 439 to 442, 454, 475, 482, 495, 500, 508, 509, 515, 525, 533 and 535.

|| P. S. I. 279, 281, 343, 386, 406, 412, 423, 442, 452, 475, 491, 529, 533 and 535.

was classified as *unnilam* or land with crop, *nāṟṟangal* or nursery and *piranilam*, all other kinds of wet-land.

Non-taxable lands included the *úrnatam* or village-site, temples, tanks, watercourses, hamlets of the artisans and Pariahs, burning-grounds, *antarattāli* or sites of urn-burials* and *kaṟkiḍai* or cairns.† *Mudutaritu* was immemorial waste, *kaḷar* (*veṅkaḷar*), saline land, and *ahavayal*, common lands and forests.

Crops.—

The different kinds of crops raised in various parts of the State are mentioned in connection with the rates payable by the tenant to the landlord according to the crop in several Cōla and Pāṇḍya inscriptions of between the 9th and 16th centuries.

The principal crop was paddy. As the expressions *Kōḍai bhōgam* or summer-harvest,‡ and *Kālabhōgam* or normal harvest§ show there were, as now, two crops of paddy annually. Long- and short-term varieties of paddy are mentioned. Among the former, which were the principal crop, was the Śambā variety known as *tiruccennelnaḍai* or *tiruccennaḍai*|| which was solely cultivated for offerings in temples. Another long-term paddy mentioned in inscriptions was *pacānam*¶ the harvest of which was called *pacānabhōgam*** or *perumpū*, meaning 'major harvest.'†† In some inscriptions, especially royal orders, the regnal years of the king were reckoned by *pacānams*. For instance, P. S. I. 182 refers to the 15th *pacānam* after the accession of

* P. S. I. 38.

† P. S. I. 440.

‡ P. S. I. 254, 292, 293, 305 to 308, 320, 383, 438, 440 and 622.

§ P. S. I. 306 and 308.

|| P. S. I. 65 and 91.

¶ P. S. I. 182, 274, 275, 393, 438, 440, 500, 515, 602, 613 and 625.

** P. S. I. 260.

†† P. S. I. 257, 306, 318, 328 and 329.

the king. The short-term varieties of paddy mentioned are *kuruvai* * and *navirai*. †

The principal cereal dry crops were *tinai* ‡ or Italian millet (*Setaria italica*) and *Varagu* § (*Paspalum scorbiculatum*). Other cereals were *Kéḷppai* || also called *Kéḷvaragu*, ¶ or *Rági* (*Eleusine coracana*) and *Sámai* ** (*Panicum miliare*).

Sugar-cane †† seems to have been a very important crop ranking with *pacánabhógam*. In one inscription, sugar-cane is placed second only to paddy in the list of crops.

Jaggery-making was a flourishing industry, and the *álai* or sugar-cane-press is often mentioned.

The most important non-cereal was *gingelly* ‡‡ (*Sesamum indicum*). The leguminous crops, probably grown in rotation, were *payaru* §§ or green-gram (*Phaseolus mungo*) and *Koḷ* || || or horse-gram (*Dolichos biflorus*). Two other important leguminous crops, *dholl* and black-gram, which are cultivated in the State, at present, are not mentioned in any of the inscriptions of this period.

* P. S. I. 305, 441, 535 and 619.

† P. S. I. 250, 274 and 515.

‡ P. S. I. 250, 260, 265, 269, 274, 275, 317 to 318, 328 to 329, 345, 349 to 350, 359, 383, 393, 403, 412, 439 to 442, 454, 500, 508, 515, 535, 589, 596, 613, 619, 624 to 625 and 647.

§ P. S. I. 250, 260, 265, 269, 274 to 275, 317, 328 to 329, 345, 349 to 350, 359, 383, 393, 403, 412, 439 to 440, 442, 454, 500, 515, 535, 589, 596, 613, 619, 624 to 625 and 647.

|| P. S. I. 454.

¶ P. S. I. 596 and 647.

** P. S. I. 454.

†† P. S. I. 260, 269, 293, 307 to 308, 318, 329, 345, 351, 393, 403, 412, 438 to 440, 454, 596, 624 and 647.

‡‡ P. S. I. 250, 260, 265, 269, 274 to 275, 317 to 318, 328 to 329, 345, 349 to 350, 383, 393, 403, 412 to 413, 440 to 442, 454, 500, 508, 515, 535, 589, 596, 613, 619, 622, 624 to 625.

§§ P. S. I. 274 to 275, 393, 403 and 412.

||| P. S. I. 454.

Betel (Piper betel) gardens are mentioned in many inscriptions.* Cotton † is mentioned only occasionally. The common vegetable crops were *vaḷutalai* ‡ or Brinjal (*Solanum melongena*), *pūṣaṇi* § or pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*), *karunai* || or pungent yam (*Typhonium trilobatum*), *mañjal* ¶ or turmeric (*Curcuma longa*) and *iñji* ** or ginger (*Zingiber officinale*). *Pūṣaṇi* was probably grown in the off-season as a catch crop as is done now.

The important fruit bearing trees were the *má* †† or mango (*Mangifera indica*), *palá* ‡‡ or Jack (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), and *vālai* §§ or Plantain (*Musa paradisiaca*) and, among the palms, *teṅgu* |||| or Coconut (*Cocos nucifera*) and *kamuku* ¶¶ or arecanut (*Areca catechu*).

Revenue Officers and Tax collectors.—

P. S. I. 26, 90, 92, 127, 163, 182, 370, 381, 384 and 481, among others, mention the names and designations of revenue officers. Survey-officers are described as those who classify or define the *nādu*—‘*innāḍuvakai-ceykira*,’ ‘*nāḍukaṇkānindayakañ-ceykira*,’ ‘*nāḍukūruceykira*’, etc., and settlement-officers as *varikūruceyvār*.***

Land-revenue was called *puravuvāri*. The Superintendent of land-revenue accounts was called *Puravuvāri śrikarana nāyakam*, the chief land-revenue accountant, *puravuvāri śrikānattumukavaṭam*, and the chief scribe *mukavaṭṭi*.

* P. S. I. 345, 393, 403, 412, 439, 441, 454, 596, 622, 624 and 647.

† P. S. I. 454.

‡ P. S. I. 345, 393, 402, 441 and 647.

§ P. S. I. 345, 393, 403, 441 and 647.

|| P. S. I. 393, 403, 412, 439, 440, 454 and 624.

¶ P. S. I. 345, 393, 403, 412, 438, 440 to 441, 454, 596, 622 and 647.

** P. S. I. 345, 440 to 441, 454, 596, 622 and 624.

†† P. S. I. 350, 454 and 596.

‡‡ P. S. I. 439, 440 and 454.

§§ P. S. I. 438 to 440, 454, 496 and 624.

|||| P. S. I. 345, 439, 440 to 441 and 454.

¶¶ P. S. I. 345, 439 to 440 and 624.

*** *Varikūruceyvār* = one who apportions taxes.

The revenue-officers fixed the total assessment for the village, and the assembly distributed it among the different holdings, taking into consideration their extent, *taram** and yield, collected the taxes and remitted them to an officer of the Government designated in several inscriptions as the *pérđlar* † meaning 'person of renown.' Contracts and deeds recorded in inscriptions refer to the king's taxes as ultimately payable to the *kóyiltiruváđal* or 'royal gate', or to the *kómuřřamar* or *kóyirřavar* ‡ by which terms the king or chief or his representatives were meant.

With the weakening the Cólá central authority, the local chieftains became more and more autonomous and resorted to oppressive methods of tax collection. P. S. I. 399 at Káraiyr (A. D. 1286) records that a person had to sell his brother's land to the temple to save himself from imprisonment for default. P. S. I. 376 at Irumbánađu (A. D. 1268) and 401 at Ševalúr (A. D. 1288) record that parties were subjected to torture by the King's officer. P. S. I. 285 at Kuđumiyámalai (A. D. 1228) records the instructions issued to tax-collectors to distrain bronze vessels and break earthenware for refusal to pay taxes. When persons defaulted and decamped, their lands, and sometimes those of their sureties, were sold or mortgaged by the tax-collector (P. S. I. 415 at Kíłattañaiyam A. D. 1303).

Survey and measurement of lands.—

Two inscriptions in the State (P. S. I. 90 and 92) of the reign of Rájarája I mention an elaborate survey and settlement of the lands in this part of the Cólá empire. The survey was so accurate that it was possible to assess taxes in very small fractions of the *káđu* such as $1/32$ of $1/320$ and even smaller fractions (P. S. I. 89). The lands were again surveyed in the

* *Taram* = quality of the soil.

† P. S. I. 309, 415 and 452.

‡ P. S. I. 135, 158, 170, 190, 196, 367, 375, 376, 383, 386, 391, 401 and

reigns of Rājendra I, Kulóttuṅga I and Kulóttuṅga III. P. S. I. 112 of the reign of Rājendra II records that the *nagaram* of Nārttāmalai distributed the revenue-survey and accounts work of the village among its members.

Boundaries of lands.—

When the boundaries of a village were being demarcated, a cow-elephant was ridden in front of those who perambulated the area for the purpose.* The *dēvadānam* lands granted to Śiva temples were demarcated by boundary-stones marked with a trident (*tiruccūlakkal*†), those granted to Viṣṇu temples by stones marked with the *cakra* or discus (*tiruvāḷikkal*‡), and those granted to Jain institutions by stones with triple umbrellas carved on them (*tirumukkudaikkal*)§. Lands endowed to *maḍams*, or feeding-houses were demarcated by stones marked with a ladle (*tiruccaṭṭuvakkal*||).

Irrigation.—

State inscriptions mention the names of numerous tanks in different parts of the State, and describe their waterspread, the supply and surplus channels and the *kaliṅgu* or weirs. Some of the sluices built in the early Pāṇḍya and Pallava periods have been referred to in the previous section. P. S. I. 123 mentions *Anapāyanāḍḍivār*, who constructed a *kaliṅgu* for the Kavināḍ tank. P. S. I. 90 mentions extensive repairs to the tanks near Tiruvilāṅguḍi including the present Perambūr tank. This inscription shows that channels and fields were named after a god or some person of importance.¶ P. S. I. 375 records the steps taken to improve the village of Viśalūr which had been

* P. S. I. 91, 141 (*piḍi-naḍanda eilai; ānai-valapparraḍavā-tiruccūlakkal nāḍḍi*).

† P. S. I. 149, 150, 159, 190, 196, 340, 376, 401, 464, 448, 453 and 461.

‡ P. S. I. 340.

§ P. S. I. 658.

|| P. S. I. 196 and 397.

¶ Cf. *Paramēsvara vāyakkāl, Caṇḍēsvara vāyakkāl, Vikramakēśari vāyakkāl, etc.*

left uncultivated for years, by digging tanks and diverting water from the Vellār into them. P. S. I. 475 at Tiruvappūr records the deepening of the tank known as *Jāvaḍivilākam kuḷam*. P. S. I. 477 records the deepening of the Śembāṭṭūr tank, and P. S. I. 478 the excavation of the *Umayāṇḍi ēri* at Pulvayal. From several inscriptions we learn that it was usual to include in deeds evidencing sales of land a stipulation that the purchaser should keep the irrigation-tanks and channels in repair.

P. S. I. 259, 376, 384 and 494 refer to the settlement of disputes regarding the right to take water for stated periods for irrigation. P. S. I. 513 at Pounamarāvati is a royal order of an unidentified Sundara Pāṇḍya dēva settling an irrigation dispute by forbidding the temple authorities to take water from the *Iḍaṅgamikāman* tank. P. S. I. 512 at Koḷattūr is another royal order of the same king, settling a dispute between a private individual and the temple authorities regarding the ownership of a channel, by directing that after certain lands had been irrigated, the river might be fished, and one half of the proceeds of the fishery should go to the temple and the other half to the other party.

There are references in several inscriptions* to fishery (*pāṣi*) rights and the conditions under which they were granted.

Transfer of property.—

Great care was taken to avoid errors in drawing up deeds relating to conveyances and other modes of transfer. There were *pramāṇams*† or deeds for all sorts of transactions—for example, *vyavastā pramāṇam* or deed registering the terms of a simple compromise or agreement, *iṟaiyilipramāṇam* or deed declaring a land tax-free, deeds recording transfers from one tenure to another, *vilaiipramāṇam* or settlement of the price

* Cf. P. S. I. 239, 454 & 459.

† P. S. I. 135, 196, 198, 326, 376, 384, 386, 401, 405, 408, 409, 412, 415, 421, 422, 425, 426, 439 to 442, 445, 447, 448, 452 to 455, 458 to 460, 469, 470, 475, 476, 479 to 481, 485, 487, 492, 494, 500, 525, 532 and 533.

of lands, *pādikāval pramānam* or agreement fixing *pādikāval* dues and *parivarttanaipramānam* or agreements to exchange one kind of property for another as, for instance, house-sites for cultivated lands (P. S. I. 326).

The following were the kinds of sales of land. First was the sale by royal order. It related to the sale of the property of persons guilty of treason or of defaulting cultivators. The latter, named *peruvilai*, is frequently mentioned in the State inscriptions. *Caṇḍēvara peruvilai* was the technical term for sales of land by Śiva temples. Sales were often conducted in public auction*. Sales by the assembly were known as *sabhaivilai* or *ūrvilai*.

Sale-deeds contained particulars of the area and boundaries of the land, described with minute care, and concluded with a declaration of the price agreed upon, and a statement that the amount had been paid in full, that the document was full acquittance for the money and that no other receipt was to be demanded. It was expressly mentioned that all rights relating to the property had been transferred to the vendee (See P. S. I. 90, 302, 408, 440, etc.).

Several inscriptions in the State mention the *vilaiyāvanak-kaḷari*.† Possibly this was a public place or office corresponding to the modern Registration office, where the scribe prepared the documents, first on palm-leaf and then on copper-plates or stone, after which the vendee paid in his presence the price of the property.

How liberal and equitable the terms of contracts sometimes were is illustrated in P. S. I. 170 at Nārttāmalai. The temple received a *kuḍi-nīṅḍā-dēvadānam* land. The *nagaram* agreed to pay the King's dues. Two merchants who acquired *kuḍivāram*

* P. S. I. 249, 288, 301, 302, 310, 383, 384, 386, 399, 441, 447, 448, 476, 479, 486 and 494.

† (*Vilaiyāvanam* = sale-deed, and *kaḷari* = office or place of business). P. S. I. 249, 302, 347, 401, 408, 439, 440, 487 and 534.

rights had to give 30 *kalams* of paddy each annually to the temple, except in bad seasons when only 2½ *kalams* on each *má* of land *actually cropped* were to be collected. The land was of the lowest *taram*, and the agreement provided that this classification should never be revised. Similar instances are found in the Pàṇḍya times.*

Land measures, linear measures and square measures.†—

Cóla and Pàṇḍya inscriptions mention the *Kólkudítāṅgi*, a linear measure the length of which is not known. Standard rods such as the *padinēṭṭu aḍi-kól* or 18 feet-rod and *paḍindrū aḍi-kól* or 16 feet-rod were in common use. There were various rods for measuring land, called after the villages in which they were used—for example, *Maṭṭiyūr nila aḷavukól*. The principal square-measure for land was the *vēli*. Smaller square-measures were the *má*, *varavai* and *kuḷi*. One inscription mentions a *má* of 522 *kuḷis* measured by the 18 feet-rod, and two others, a *má* of 256 *kuḷis* measured by the 16 feet-rod.

Trade and Industry.—

The bulk of production was for the local market. Every village had its set of artisans—the village smith, carpenter, brazier, potter, oil-presser and weaver. The temples supported a large number of braziers and goldsmiths.

There was brisk trade between the area now forming the State and the rest of India. P. S. I. 125, an inscription of the reign of Kulóttuṅga I, for instance, mentions two Brahmins from the Telugu country who were brokers in the betel trade. There are references to merchants from outside the State making endowments to temples and charitable institutions here.‡

* P. S. I. 279, 281, 343, 386, 406, 412, 423, 442, 452, 475, 491, 529, 533 and 535.

† For further information, the reader is referred to pages 223 to 227 in Volume I.

‡ E. g. P. S. I. 86 and 140.

P. S. I. 265 (A. D. 1261), belonging to the reign of Vīra Pāṇḍya, refers to customs duties on salt and dhol. It is very probable that earth-salt which continued to be manufactured in the State up to the 19th century, did not meet the entire local demand and sea-salt had to be imported. Dhol or red gram was imported into the State in medieval times.

State inscriptions contain references to footpaths, cart-tracks and *peru-vaḷi* or trunk-roads. The local assemblies maintained these roads, and the village supplied *veṭṭi* or free labour for their construction and maintenance.

Merchant guilds in the State.—The Nānādeṣiya-tisai-āyirattu-aññūruvar.

We have mentioned on page 654 above the functions of the *nagaram*, or assembly in towns, which was a corporation of merchants.

Internal and foreign trade was carried on during these centuries by guilds or corporations of merchants. A. R. E. 47 of 1888 mentions the *maṇigrāmam* of Koḍumbālur, A. R. E. 71 of 1896, the *vaḷaṇṇiyar* of Tiruppuṇambiyam, and several inscriptions both in the State and outside it, the *nānādeṣiya-tisai-āyirattu-aññūruvar*. P. S. I. 61 mentions *vaḷaṇṇiyar aññūruvar*. A. R. E. 256 of 1912, of about the 11th century A. D., records that the *nānādeṣiya-aññūruvar* were the protectors of the *vaḷaṇṇiyar**, and that they laid down certain rules of conduct to be followed by the latter in the village of Kāṭṭūr. From these and other inscriptions we may reasonably conclude that the three guilds mentioned above were not entirely different bodies as is generally supposed, but were probably sections or branches of the *nānādeṣiya-tisai-āyirattu-aññūruvar* which Prof. Sastri translates 'the Five Hundred of the thousand directions in all countries.'

* A. R. E. for 1913, p. 99.

In view of the great prominence that the 'Five Hundred,' attained in the mercantile life of South India in mediæval times we may give here a brief account of them based on the State inscriptions and two others, one at Baligami in the Mysore State (Epi. Carnatic Vol. VII. sk. 118) and the other at Pirāṇmalai just beyond the State frontier (A. R. E. 154 of 1903). The earliest inscription that mentions this corporation is P. S. I. 61 at Munāṇḍai in the State, which on palæographical grounds may be assigned to the second half of the ninth century A. D. in the reign of Vijayālaya Cōḷa. The Aññūṟruvar claim to be the children of the god Vāsudēva, the goddess Kaṇḍali* and the god Mūlabhadra or Vīrabhadra, and worshipped Bhagavati or Durga.† They had many sub-divisions coming from the '1000 districts of the four quarters' (*nānādēsa titaḍiyirattu*), the 18 towns (*padinenbhūmi* or *padinenṇiṣayam*)‡, etc. They were designated by the names *Ceṭṭis* and *Ceṭṭiputras*, *Śīlaya* (or *Śīla*) *Ceṭṭis* § and *Kavara Ceṭṭis* among others. They visited all the 'countries' in India from Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya in the South to Nēpāla in the North, and "by land routes and sea routes, they penetrated into the regions of the 'six continents'."|| They were praised in 500 *vira-śāsanas* or edicts describing their valour. They had their mercenary army which comprised several divisions designated *Eri-vīras*, *Munai-vīras*, etc.

From the Pirāṇmalai inscription (A. R. E. 154 of 1903) it is clear that a number of *nagarams*, were affiliated to the 'Five

* Kandēvi in A. R. E. 154 of 1903.

† See. A. R. E. 154 of 1903. Their patron goddess *Aimpoḷṣṭparamēṣvari*, or *Ayyāpoḷṣṭ nācciyār* was consecrated in the temple of Kallampatti in the State about A. D. 1157 by a Niṣadarāja chief. (See P. S. I. 134 and 148).

‡ P. S. I. 281, A. R. E. 601 of 1902, A. R. E. 256 of 1912. Overgedrukt uit het Tijdschrift voor Ind. Taal, Land-en Volken kunde Deel LXXIV—Jaarg. 1934—Afl. 3 en 4, p. 6.

§ *Śīlaya Ceṭṭis* seem to have been the chief mercantile class in the Nārttāmalai *nagaram*.

|| Tamil inscriptions at Takuapa in Siam, at Lobn Towa in Sumatra, at Pagan in Burma, and in Ceylon show how widely they travelled.

Hundred,' including Pillamaṅgalam—Aḷagāpuri known as Śeḷiya-nārāyaṇapuram, the *maṇigrāmam* of Koḍumbāḷūr, Ponnamarāvati and Kīranūr in the State. This inscription records the grant to the temple at Pirāṇmalai of the right to collect a cess on the following articles in which they traded—salt, paddy and rice, beans, red-gram, green-gram (*Phaseolus mungo*), castor-seed, areca-nut, pepper, turmeric, dried ginger, onions, cumin (*Cuminum cyminum*), Indian mustard (*Brassica juncea*), myrabolan (*Terminalia chebula*, *Phyllanthus emblica*, and *Terminalia belerica*), gingelly (*Sesamum indicum*), iron, raw cotton, cotton-yarn, cloth, wax, honey, gunny-bags, silk goods and yarn, yak tails, camphor-oil, rose-water and other perfumes, cattle, horses and elephants.

In the countries that they visited for trade the 'Five Hundred' established ware-houses which were guarded by their own soldiers. Wherever they settled they built temples and instituted charities. They were very tolerant and supported charitable institutions of all sects and religions.

The record of their charities in the State is of special interest. They made an endowment for the maintenance of an irrigation-tank at Munasandai.* The village probably took its name from the *munaiviras*, a section of their armed followers. At Kuḍumiyāmalai †, the *Paḷiyili aṇṇūrruvar* ‡ battalion undertook to protect an endowment. The Jain cave on the Mēlamalai at Nārttāmalai § which was afterwards converted into a Viṣṇu temple, was called *Padinenbhūmi viṇṇagaram*, evidently after the eighteen towns of the *aṇṇūrruvar*. The god in the temple of Śēndamaṅgalam not far from Nārttāmalai, was called *Citrāmēḷi viṇṇagara Emberumānār*. *Citrāmēḷisa* || is a name sometimes

* P. S. I. 61.

† P. S. I. 125.

‡ "Flawless 500."

§ P. S. I. 281.

|| P. S. I. 171. *Citrāmēḷisa* occurs in A. B. E. 154 of 1903.

given to the 'Five Hundred.' A tank in Pillamaṅgalam * called after them, *Aññárruvamaṅgalam* † another name for Kúdalúr in the State, occurring in an inscription at Pirāṇmalai, and *Aññárruvanallúr* ‡, another name for the modern Vāḷaramāṇikkam, commemorate them. A Temmāvúr§ inscription relates that they contributed the cost of some pillars in the temple *maṇḍapam*. A fragmentary inscription at Cheṭṭipaṭṭi ||, then known as Tiruveṇṇāyil, calls the Jain temple and monastery there *aiññárruva perumpalli*; it was presumably either built or endowed by them.

The 'Five Hundred' therefore, may be described as a corporation of *nagarams* and different classes of merchants, somewhat resembling the Hanseatic league of German cities in Medieval Europe. Pudukkóttai State where there are several towns and villages ¶ associated with their name, in one of which, namely Kaḷḷampaṭṭi, the temple of the goddess Aiyāppōḷil 'nācciyar who was their patron deity is situated, was an important centre of their activities at home. Through this great corporation, the Cheṭṭiyārs** and other merchant classes of the State were engaged in the extensive foreign trade that South India carried on with Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia and China in the east, and the Persian gulf in the west, in the centuries of Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya rule. This trade which flourished under the care of the Cōḷa emperors declined as the power of the central authority at home declined,

* P. S. I. 363.

† P. S. I. 393, at Virāchilai and A. R. E. 150 of 1903 at Pirāṇmalai.

‡ P. S. I. 1022.

§ P. S. I. 576.

|| P. S. I. 1083.

¶ The signatories in some of the State inscriptions bear the name of this corporation. For instance, we read of *Aiññárruva-péraraiyar* in P. S. I. 393, 421 and 534, *Aiññárruva-bhaṭṭan* in P. S. I. 621, and *Aiññárruva-dēvan* in P. S. I. 393.

** The God in the temple of Máttúr, a village near Káraiṅkuḍi, known as *Aiññárruvarásvaṛar*, is the patron deity of some Cheṭṭiyār families in the State, who make votive offerings to this God whenever they conduct an auspicious ceremony or start a new business.

and the Moors and Arabs came to predominate in the eastern trade.

The Horse trade with Arabia.—

Marco Polo and Wassaf describe at length the extensive trade in Arab horses and Pegu ponies that was carried on under the rule of the Cōlas and Pāṇdyas. The horses must have been in demand in the cantonments which maintained strong forces of cavalry.

Coins.—

According to Sir Walter Elliot*, the *kaḷañju* which was the standard unit employed in weighing gold, measured from 50 to 60 grains till late in the tenth century. The more usual standard was the *kaḷañju* of twenty *mañjādis*, equal in theory to 72 grains, but sometimes weighing as much as 80. The *pon* or *māḍai* was a gold coin weighing one *kaḷañju*. This coin served as the standard of fineness for testing gold. The *Kāṣu* was half of a *māḍai*. *Anrāḍunaṛkāṣu* meant 'good current *kāṣu*'. *Paḷaṅgāṣu* means 'old but still current *kāṣu*'.

From the time of Kulōttuṅga III, copper *kāṣus* of lower value were minted. They varied in value from place to place and with each successive issue. According to an inscription in the Salem district (A. R. E. 439 of 1913), 100 *Śōḷiya kāṣus* made a *paṇam*; but this was not the standard everywhere.

The value of the *paṇam* also varied from place to place and from reign to reign. *Rāsippaṇam*,† *Varāhan paṇam*,‡ *Cenpaka-kulikai paṇam*,§ *Vāḷḍiḷvaḷi tirandān kulikaippaṇam*,|| and *Kulikaippaṇam*¶ are varieties mentioned in the State inscriptions.

* *Coins of South India*.—See Prof. Sastri: *Cōlas* Vol. II., p. 443.

† P. S. I. 345, 441 and 452.

‡ P. S. I. 350, 406, 421, 442, 476, 479, 480, 494 and 525.

§ P. S. I. 384.

|| P. S. I. 439–40, 454 and 487. *Vāḷḍiḷvaḷitirandān* means "He who made a way for himself with his sword"—the title of one of the Pāṇḍya kings.

¶ P. S. I. 441 and 448.

The *tiram* or *tiramam** was supposed to be the equivalent of a drachma. According to Mr. Percy Brown†, all these coins referred to as *tiramam* or '*drammas*' approximated to the weight of their Sassanian originals, which were derived from the Attic drachma of 67·5 grains.

Weights and measures.—

The weight most commonly mentioned is the *palam*.‡ Gold was weighed by *mañjádīs* and *kaḷaṇjus* (=20 *mañjádīs*). The common measure of capacity was the *marakkāl*, and special names were often given to this measure,—for instance *Śulakkāl* § used in Śiva temples, *Kēraḷántakan marakkāl* || and *Tiruvḍāl tirandán-marakkāl*.¶ Measures of smaller capacity than the *marakkāl*, such as *ṭevidu*, *ālāṅku*, *uri*, *nāḷi*, and of larger capacity such as *padakku*, *tūṇi*, *kalam* and *kóttai*** were in vogue.†† The measure of time was the *nāḷikai*.‡‡

Society.—

The number of *agarams*, *maṅgalams* and *Caturvēdimāṅgalams* in the State, shows that it had a much larger Brahmin population in Cōla and Pāṇḍya times than at any later period. The two divisions of Brahmins were Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites. The priests in the Śiva temples were called *Śaivácāryas* and Śiva brāhamanas, and those in Viṣṇu temples, *Vaikhānasas*. The Brahmins had their dwellings apart from the rest of the village or town and had their separate assembly—the *sabhd*. Learning was their chief pursuit, and none but learned men were

* P. S. I. 125, 262, 265, 317, 318-19.

† *The Coins of India*.

‡ P. S. I. 172.

§ P. S. I. 79, 170 and 213.

|| P. S. I. 181 and 219.

¶ P. S. I. 469.

** Kóttai=21 marakkāls. P. S. I. 456.

†† For tables of these measures see p. 223 of Vol. I.

‡‡ For a table of measures of time see p. 227 of Vol. I.

members of their assembly and its committees. We hear, of Brāhmin ministers and generals under the Cōlas and Pāṇdyas.

The Maṇavaṛas, Kaḷḷars and Kaikkōḷars were the fighting classes and lived mostly in cantonments. The high officers of Government were drawn from the Maṇava, Kaḷḷa—among whom were the Pallavarāyars and Tonḍaimāns—and Vellāḷa communities. The Cheṭṭis formed as now the principal mercantile community. The Chettis of Nārttāmalaḷ are referred to in inscriptions as Śīla (or Śīlaya) Cheṭṭis; they often took the names of the Cōla and Pāṇḍya rulers.

The condition of the agricultural labourers was not far removed from slavery. P. S. I. 459 at Mēlūr records the transfer by a father to his son of his rights over some lands and houses to which some slaves were attached. Forced labour was common. Villages had to furnish free labour for public purposes, such as making roads or constructing fortifications.

Women do not appear to have suffered from so many disabilities as they do now. They owned property and disposed of it as they chose.* There are frequent references in State inscriptions to dancing girls or courtesans.† They were an affluent class buying land in their own right and making charitable endowments.

Religion.—

Religious doctrines and observances in the Cōla and Pāṇḍya periods do not appear to have differed greatly from those prevailing at the present day.

The simple religion of the hymnists, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, teaching the gospel of pure love and devotion developed in these centuries into complex creeds with varied schools of philosophy, ritual and observances. The Cōla emperors, and many of the

* P. S. I. 137.

† Cf. the *hetæra* in Ancient Greece.

Pāṇḍyas, were devout worshippers of Śiva, built temples in important villages and established numerous *mathas*. These *mathas* maintained an intimate connection with Śaivism elsewhere, in places as far north as Kashmir and as far east as the Eastern Archipelago and Farther India. Tirumūlar, Meykaṇḍa-dévar, Arulnandi, Umapati Śivacārya and Nambi Āṇḍar Nambi whose writings constitute the Tamil Śaivite scriptures, and Śrī Nāthamuni, Yāmuna and Śrī Ramānujācārya whose writings possess a similar importance for Vaiṣṇavites belong to this period.

The Temple.—

Under Cōḷa rule, the temple became the vital centre of communal life and activities. Upon it depended a numerous class of artists and artizans, architects and sculptors, braziers and smiths, potters, musicians and poets, a hierarchy of priests and servants, and peasants who cultivated the *dēvadāna* lands. The pious gifts of kings, nobles and wealthy devotees accumulated during the centuries. The temple treasuries served as rural banks from which the local assembly and individuals borrowed money at interest*. In times of famine, war and other calamities the temple funds were applied to the relief of distress. "As the principal landholder, employer, and consumer of goods and services, as bank, school and museum, as hospital and theatre, in short, as a nucleus which gathered round itself all that was best in the arts of civilized existence,"—observes Prof. Sastri, "the mediaeval Indian temple has few parallels in the annals of mankind."

The inscriptions in the State give a detailed account of the nature of the *Sandhis* or daily services,† endowments for the conduct of which were made by kings and local chieftains. They consisted in bathing and decorating the gods, offering flowers while intoning their names (*arcana*), waving lights before them,

* P. S. I. 48 to 50, 53, 87, 177, 379.

† P. S. I. 30, 85, 89, 90.

offering food, burning incense and camphor, and singing hymns often to the accompaniment of music and dancing. The offerings * consisted chiefly of cooked rice and fruit.

Temple festivals were elaborately celebrated. The idols were carried in procession, their route was illuminated at night, and Brahmins and the poor were fed. The earliest festivals recorded in the State inscriptions are those celebrated in the months of *Māsi* (February—March), † *Cittirai*, (April—May), ‡ *Mārgaḷi* § (December—January) and *Paṅguni* (March—April).|| The last day of the festival on which the principal idols were taken to a tank or a river and bathed was usually a full-moon day.¶ Festivals in *Vaikhāsi* (May—June), ** *Āvaṇi* †† (August—September), *Puraṭṭāsi* ‡‡ (September—October) and *Kārtigai* §§ (November—December) were instituted later. The calendar of festivals varied however from temple to temple. The *Paṅguni uttiram* (in March—April) seems to have been a very popular festival from the ninth or tenth century onwards. The *Ārdra* (December—January), another ancient festival, was observed in all Śiva temples. The spring festivals in the months of *Cittirai* and *Vaikhāsi* and the *Ārdra* were accompanied by nautch and dramatic performances. ||| Originally these festivals lasted for only seven days, ¶¶ but later in the Pāṇḍya times, they were extended to ten days. ***

* P. S. I. 20, 22, 24, 30, 44, 65, 86, 90, 92, 124, 147, 148, 150, 167, 401, 427 and 430.

† P. S. I. 77, 216, 291, 301.

‡ P. S. I. 90, 128, 286, 320.

§ P. S. I. 90, 139, 291, 301.

|| P. S. I. 541, 67, 73, 90, 190, 291, 301.

¶ *Īrttamāḍutal* P. S. I. 90.

** P. S. I. 139, 282.

†† P. S. I. 304.

‡‡ P. S. I. 543.

§§ P. S. I. 541.

||| Eg. P. S. I. 90.

¶¶ P. S. I. 128, 139, 219, 486, 538.

*** Eg. P. S. I. 282 dated A. D. 1228.

We have already noticed that the temple, or the chief god or goddess in it, was considered to possess the rights and be subject to the obligations of a landowner, making and receiving grants, buying and selling, and entering into other forms of contract. All transactions on behalf of Śiva temples were entered into in the name of one of the minor gods—*Caṇḍéśvara*. The Vaiṣṇava counterpart of *Caṇḍéśvara* was the *Sénápati* or *Viṣṇakṣéna*. The committee in charge of temple affairs consisted of the lay worshippers and monks called by the generic name *Śri-Rudra-Śri-mahéśvara-kaṅkániceyváṛ* in Śiva temples and the *Nambimáṛs* and *Śri Vaiṣṇava kaṅkániceyváṛ* in Viṣṇu temples. The executive trustees were the *Dévakaṇmi* * or *Dánattár* who were assisted in discharging their duties by the temple accountant—*kóyil kaṇakken*.† The *Śrikáryamceyváṛ* or officiating priests were the *Śivácáryas* or *Śiva Bráhmaṇas* ‡ or the *Vaikhánasas*.§ Priests enjoyed the sole privilege of performing divine service and did so by turns.|| P. S. I. 137, a Ponnamarāvati inscription mentions how many days in each month were allotted to each priest. Besides the priests, there was an army of artisans, cooks, musicians, reciters ¶ of *Tévdram* and *Tiruváimoli* and chanters of the Védas, nautch girls, gardeners, drummers, astrologers, etc., who either were fed in the temple or enjoyed tax-free land.

Amman shrines in Śiva temples were only built after the 10th century A. D. Until about the same time Śiva and Viṣṇu were worshipped in the same temples. Afterwards, a large number of Viṣṇu temples were built, and the Viṣṇu and Śiva shrines in the earlier temples were partitioned off. P. S. I. 340 at Tirumayam mentions this being done there.

* P. S. I. 90.

† P. S. I. 166, 216.

‡ P. S. I. 117, 136, 137, 367, 374, 446.

§ P. S. I. 171.

|| Eg. P. S. I. 206 and 209. *Kāpiṇḍasya-Śiva-Bráhmaṇas* or the Śiva Bráhmaṇas endowed with rights.

¶ P. S. I. 90, 278.

Mathas.—

The *mathas*, or monasteries, which were both centres of learning and feeding-houses played an important part in the religious life of the age. Before the reign of Rāja Rāja I, there were *mathas* only at important centres, but from the 10th century A. D. their number increased, until almost every temple had one attached to it. P. S. I. 136 (about A. D. 1162) mentions a *matha* attached to the Kuḍumiyāmalai temple where provision was made for feeding eight persons daily. Within the precincts of the Śrī Rājendra Cōḷisvaram temple at Ponnamarāvati there was the *Nilamaiyaḷagiyan tirumaḍam* to which a grant was made by one of the Niṣadarājas (P. S. I. 150. A. D. 1196). P. S. I. 303 dated A. D. 1233 records a grant to Ambalattamudāṇḍār of Naṭanatirumaḍam close to the Śrī Agastīśvara temple at Neivāsal. P. S. I. 312 dated A. D. 1236 is a royal order, one of the clauses of which relates to the maintenance of a *matha* at Ponnamarāvati,—a branch of a *matha* at Benares. P. S. I. 402 (A. D. 1288) mentions Venṇan Tirumalappāḍi Uḍaiyān also called Tirupperundurāi Pillai who is described as superintendent of the *mathas* of the temple at Pēraiyyūr. The signatories in several inscriptions have the designation *māḍāpatyam* or superintendent of *mathas*.*

The monks in these *mathas* were mostly of the ordinary type of ascetics still common in the Tamiḷnāḍu—the *Śivayōgins* or *Māhēśvaras* who constantly repeat the names of Śiva, and lead a life of meditation in order to attain 'release from bondage.' There were other Śaiva ascetics who belonged to the Pāśupata school.† Some of the Kālamukhas, a sect of this school, are believed to have come to the South from Kāśhmīr and other

* For example, P. S. I. 423 at Kaṇṇanūr, 425 at Alaṅguḍi, 480 at Tiruvēṅgaivāsal, 481 at Ādanūr and 525 at Perundurāi.

† The school was founded by Lakulīśa in the first century A. D. The *Kālamukhas*, *Mahāvratins* or *Asitavakras*, followed many horrible practices such as eating out of a skull, smearing their body with the ashes of burning corpses, and offering human sacrifices. They also used wine and flesh in their worship.

centres of Śaivism in the North. P. S. I. 14, a Sanskrit inscription of the 10th century * at Koḍumbālūr relates that the chieftain Vikramakésari, who built the Múvarkóvil, presented a large *maṭha* and eleven villages for the regular feeding of fifty ascetics, to his preceptor Mallikàrjuna, a disciple of Vidyāràsi †, a Kàlamukha teacher. Tiruvànaikkóvil (Tiruvànaikkà-tirupati) near Trichinopoly was a centre of the Pàsupata cult. In one of the *maṭhas* there,—the *Akhilanáyaki tirumaḍam*—there was an eminent monk, Jíyar Viśveśvara Śivacàrya, the head of the *Gólaki maṭha*, who came to the South from the province of Ràdha, probably South-west Bengal. He was the preceptor of the Kàkatiya king Ganapati, and his *Santána* or spiritual 'flock' was distributed over a wide area including parts of the Pudukkóttai State. P. S. I. 196, probably of the time of Ràja Ràja III, dated A. D. 1240, records that the village of Kumàramaṅgalam in the State was granted as a *maḍappuram* to the Tiruvànaikkóvil *maṭha* where the Jíyar Viśveśvaracàrya 'was pleased to stay.' Another *maṭha* at Tiruvànaikkóvil was the *Lakṣádhya Bhikṣa maṭha* ‡ originally founded at Benares with a branch at Pillamaṅgalam in the State. P. S. I. 397 at Pillamaṅgalam, dated A. D. 1285, records that the temple authorities sold a site to Aḍaivàr Vinaitírtàn, a celibate disciple of the head of the Tiruvànaikkóvil *maṭha*, on condition than he should build a *maṭha* on it to be called Vira Pāṇḍyan *maṭha*. A Kunnāṇḍàrkóvil inscription, P. S. I. 446 dated A. D. 1319 (?), records a gift of land to a *maṭha* at Tiruvànaikkóvil called *Naḍuvil maṭha*.

* See page 604 above.

† He is described in this inscription as a *tapórási* or 'store-house of penance.' He is also mentioned in another inscription (86 of 1917) on a slab now in the Madras Museum but originally found at Tagadur in the Sàlem district. "Perhaps the Kanarese fragment found on the margin of the pond in front of the Mucukundésvara temple at Koḍumbālūr would, if complete, have furnished more information about the Kàlamukha sect and how its doctrines spread so far as the Pudukkottai state" (A. R. E. 1908).

‡ A. R. E. 111 of 1930 and 72 of 1931 mention Várāṇasī or Benáres as the seat of this *maṭha*. *Lakṣádhya* = He who has a lakh of pupils.

These inscriptions prove that there was a live contact between the Śaivas of the State and those in other parts of India.

Jainism.—

From the vestiges found in almost all parts of the State, it is clear that Jainism had a large following in the State during these centuries. We have mentioned in the last section a few centres of Jainism—Ténimalai, Sittannavāsai and Annavāsai—which flourished before the 9th century and retained their importance till about five centuries later. The recent excavations at Cheṭṭipaṭṭi, formerly known as Tiruveṇṇāyil, have brought to light three Jain temples. An inscription in one of these temples has a fragment of the *prasasti* of Rāja Rāja I, which confirms the conclusion based on their architectural style, that they may be assigned to the 10th century A. D. Several Jain images were found here of which one of Pārśvanātha is specially attractive. Attached to these temples was a monastery called *Aiññūṟṟuva-perumpalli* built or endowed by Jayavīra Pēriḷamaiyaṇ, a merchant belonging to the famous guild of Aiññūṟṟuvars. This monastery was associated with the name of Matisāgara,* a celebrated Jaina Ācārya of the 10th century.

On the north bank of the *paḷli-ūraṇi* † at Sembāṭṭūr were discovered in January 1938, remains of a Jain shrine including an image of a Tīrthaṅkara with Yakṣi chowrie-bearers, another of a Yakṣi, and five pillars with shafts springing from lions sejant. Pillars originally forming part of this temple are built into the subsidiary shrines of the Tennaṅguḍi Śiva temple, and engraved slabs from the same source into the *maṇḍapams* of the latter temple. An inscription on the *piṭham* or base of the Yakṣi image mentions that Jayaṅkoṇḍamūvēṇḍavélāṇ, an administrator of Kulamaṅgala nāḍu in the reign of Rāja Rāja I ‡ had it made.

* Cf. a fragmentary inscription at Cheṭṭipaṭṭi—*Uḍaiya matisākara aruḥar-acāryar-ippalli*.

† *Paḷli-ūraṇi-Uraṇi* belonging to the *Paḷli*, or Jain temple or monastery.

‡ *Jayaṅkoṇḍān* was one of the titles of Rāja Rāja I. The *Mūvēṇḍa Vélāns* generally called themselves by the names or titles of the kings under whom they served.

At Saḍaiyapàrai near Tirugókarnam the basement of a brick temple is to be seen with the image of a Tírthaṅkara.

Nārttāmalai was another important Jain centre with two flourishing monasteries, one at Āluruṭṭimalai, then called Tirumāṇamalai or Vaḍatiruppallimalai, and the other at Bommaimalai, then called Tentiruppallimalai. In P. S. I. 474, an inscription of the reign of an unidentified Sundara Pāṇḍya, we have the names of two Ācāryas, Dharmadēva Ācārya of the Tiruppallimalai monastery and his preceptor Kanakacandra Pāṇḍita.

The fortunes of Jainism seem to have declined in the State during the 12th century. From a recently discovered inscription on the basement of the Śamaṇarkuḍagu on the Mélamalai at Nārttāmalai, dated A. D. 1115, we learn that in this cave which was previously a Jain shrine, images of Viṣṇu and the Dévi were consecrated. The Jaina fortunes revived later under the Pāṇḍyas. P. S. I. 530 is a royal order of an unidentified Pāṇḍya ruler granting tax-free lands to the priests of the monastery and temple of Saḍaiyapàrai. P. S. I. 658 is another royal order granting the village of Korāmaṅgaḷam to the priests of the monasteries of Tiruppallimalai, to be shared by the north and south monasteries in the ratio of 2 : 1.

That the grants of lands to Jain monasteries were considered to be as sacred and irrevocable as *devadānam* or *brahmadēyam* grants is proved by the exclusion * of all *palliccandam* lands in sales and gifts of villages to Hindu temples or private individuals.

As stated on page 575 above, Jain images, Tírthaṅkaras and Yakṣis, are found in various parts of the State. A list of those conserved up to January 1, 1938 is given on page 512 (Volume I); any others discovered after that date will be mentioned in the Gazetteer.

* See P. S. I. 364 (Tiruvaraṅgaḷam), 449 (Kóḍalūr in Tirumayam Taluk), 463 and 464 (Virāchilai).

Literature and Art.—

The expansion of the Cōla empire, the commercial prosperity of the country, and the cultural contact of the Tamils with the rest of India and the lands beyond the seas broadened the intellectual outlook of the people, and favoured the development of Tamil literature of the highest quality. Men of letters flourished under royal patronage. One of the greatest works of the age was the *Kalīṅgattuparaṇi* dealing with the Kālīṅga wars,* written by a court poet, Jayāṅkondān. Oṭṭakkūṭṭar's *Uḷā* describes the greatness of three Cōla rulers. Kamban, the greatest of Tamil poets, whose *Rāmadyaṇa* is a masterpiece, enjoyed court patronage. Śekkiḷār composed his *Periyapurāṇam*, or Lives of the Śaiva saints, at the instance of a Cōla king † whom the poet wanted to wean from his attachment to *Jivakacintāmaṇi*, a great Jain epic composed by Tiruttakkadēvar. Puḡalēndi, the author of the *Naḷaveṇba*, was a contemporary of Oṭṭakkūṭṭar.

Three of the saints of the *Periyapurāṇam* of Śekkiḷār were connected with the State. Śekkiḷār begins his account of the life of Iḍaṅgaḷi Nāyanār with a glowing description of Koḍumbāḷūr. Oṭṭakkūṭṭar of *Uḷā* fame belonged to the Śeṅgundār or Kaikkōḷar community who were both warriors and weavers. Early in his career as poet he was patronised by a Gāṅgaiya chieftain, in whose praise he wrote the *Nālayirakkōvai*‡, who is believed to have been a chieftain of Niyamam exercising authority over the southern part of the State. There is a tradition preserved in a palm-leaf manuscript discovered by the late Mr. Radhakrishna Aiyar connecting Kamban with the State. It tells how the Vellālars of the State who had heard the poet's *Ēreḷupatu*—seventy verses in praise of the Vellālars and their husbandry, were so pleased that they rewarded him

* See page 606 above.

† See page 609.

‡ A poem in 4,000 stanzas.

with a palanquin, and conferred on him the right to collect a *panam* from every Vellála family. Kamban levied this amount from the families of Kónàdu, and then went to Kànádu with letters of recommendation from the Vellálars of Ollaiyúr. The Kànádu Vellálars resented the action of the Ollaiyúr Vellálars, and though they paid their contribution to the poet the incident led to an armed conflict between the people of the two *nádu*s.

The *prastis* of the Cōla kings from the time of Rāja Rāja I and some of the later Pāṇḍyas "may be classed among the best specimens of the literature of the age; the stately diction, the easy flow of the verse, and the animated narration of historical incidents mark them out as a class by themselves in the literature of Tamil."* We do not know whether any of the court-poets who composed these *prastis* were directly connected with the State; but State inscriptions mention poets patronised by the Cōla or Pāṇḍya kings or their vassals. P. S. I. 120, a Tirugókarnam inscription of the 12th year of Kulóttuṅga II (A. D. 1145), contains a verse in the *Ahaval* metre praising the benefactions of a chief belonging to a family of Brāhmins who crowned the Cōla kings. P. S. I. 115 of the 7th year of Vira Rājendra (A. D. 1070) has a verse commemorating the construction of the *ardha-manjapam* in the Agastisvara temple at Vellánúr by a chief in charge of the administration of the district. P. S. I. 129 at Maḍattukkóvil of the 13th year of Kulóttuṅga II (A. D. 1145) begins with a verse in praise of Tirucciṟṟambalamuḍaiyān Védavanamuḍaiyān† of Paiyyúr, and records a gift of land to the temple by the versifier who had previously received it from the Uḍaiyān as a reward for his skill in versification. Five inscriptions in the *gōpuram* of the Sikhànàthasvāmi temple at Kuḍumiyāmalai (P. S. I. 651 to 655) are verses in praise of a Pāṇḍya king, the first of which in the *Veṇḍá* metre is attributed to the poet Puḡalēndi.‡

* Prof. K. A. N. Sastri. *Cōlas* Vol. II, p. 511.

† See page 609 above.

‡ Vidván M. Raghava Iyengar: *Perundogai*: verse 1491.

The Śaiva philosophers and theologians—Tirumūlar, Meikāṇḍadēvar, Aruḷnandi and Umāpati Śivācāriyar have been mentioned already. Their works, which the Śaiva *maṭhas* expounded in the middle ages, are still read and venerated in Śaiva homes in the State.

Music and Dancing.—

Music and dancing found their highest expression under the patronage of the temples. The *Téṇḍram*, *Tiruvācākam*, *Tiruvāimolī* and other hymns were set to music and sung, especially at the evening temple-services, with suitable expressions and gestures, and to the accompaniment of the *yāl* or *viṇa* and a bass drum (*maddalam*). P. S. I. 90, a Tiruvilāṅguḍi inscription, refers to the *tiruppadiyam-viṇṇappam-ceyyum-aḍikal* or "holy men who chant the sacred hymns." One such chorister in the Ponnamarāvati temple was honoured with a title (P. S. I. 278).

The daily *kūttu*, or dance in the temple, was performed by girls who sang, danced and waved lights before the gods. Such temple dancing-girls served by turns (E.g. P. S. I. 162 at Kolattūr). Special performances were given during the festivals; especially, as State inscriptions tell us, during the three festivals, *Tiruvādirai* (in December-January), *Cittirai* (in April-May) and *Vaikhāṣi* (in May-June). The *Silappadikāram* mentions eleven kinds of temple-dances, besides dances specially associated with the worship of particular gods. P. S. I. 128 records that a dancing-girl was engaged to perform 'nine kūttus,' and P. S. I. 139, 'six kūttus' probably meaning nine or six kinds of dances. We find in State inscriptions such names as Śāntikkūtti Ācci Umaiyāl, Śāntikkūtti Nāccimalaiyāl, the daughter of Periyanaṭṭācāryan, etc. The term *Śāntikkūttu* means a kind of dance supposed to induce a feeling of repose, and also applies to those who danced it. Musicians and dancers enjoyed endowments for their maintenance.

Inscriptions and sculptures acquaint us with the musical instruments that were in vogue during this period. In four cave-temples in the State,—the Kuḍumiyàmalai Mélakkóvil, the eastern cave-temple at Malaiyakkóvil and the Śiva cave-temples at Tirumayam and Tirugókarṇam,—we find inscribed in Pallava—Grantha characters the word *Parivádini*, which is the Sanskrit equivalent of the *Śeṅgóṭṭiyál*, meaning a seven-stringed *yál* or lute. In two of these places, Kuḍumiyàmalai and Tirumayam, there are inscribed treatises on a classical system of Indian music. Figures of Dakṣiṇāmūrti in some of the temples, for example the Vijayàlayacólisvaram and Kaḍambar-kóvil at Nàrttàmalai, the Múvarkóvil at Koḍumbālúr, and the Tirukkaṭṭalai and Tiruvaraṅgulam temples, bear a *Vīṇa*. The instrument in the hands of the figure in the Vijayàlayacólisvaram temple has a rectangular sound-box, while that in the hands of the figure at Múvarkóvil has one shaped like the body of a bird. The *gaṇas* are represented as playing on flutes. Among the instruments * played in temple services were the *uvaccu* and *tímilai*, two kinds of drums, the *śékandī* or gong, *tanṅu* or conch and *kálam* or trumpet. The dances executed before the gods were accompanied by orchestral music.

Temple architecture.—

The Puḍukkóṭṭai temples are of more than local interest. The geographical position of the State accounts for the existence within it of structures belonging to all the most important epochs of South Indian architectural history. A brief study of these follows.

The 'Cóla' style which Prof. Dubreuil dates between A. D. 850 and 1100, covers the period of the Vijayàlaya line of kings and takes us to the beginning of the Cóla-Cālukya line. To the first 150 years of this period, ending about the middle of the reign of Ràja Ràja the Great, belongs a group of interesting temples in the State, all completely built of stone from

* See P. S. I. 30, 85, 89 and 90.

basement to finial.* These are the Vijayālaya Cōlśvaram at Nārttāmalai, the Śiva temples at Kāliyāpaṭṭi, Viśalūr, Tiruppūr, and Panaṅguḍi (A. D. 850 to 871), the Śiva temple at Tirukkaṭṭalai, the Muccukundésvara temple at Koḍumbālūr, the Bālasubrahmanya temple at Kaṇṇanūr (871 to 907), the Tiruvagnísvara temple at Cittūr (907 to 953), the Múvar Kóvil at Koḍumbālūr, the Śiva temple at Kīlāttānaiyam and the Kaḍambar Kóvil at Nārttāmalai (950 to 1000).

The *garbhagṛham* is square except in the Vijayālaya Cōlśvaram, where it is circular but enclosed within a square *prākāram*, which helps to support the *vimānam*. The walls are decorated with pilasters, and sometimes with *dēvagoṣṭhas* or niches.† The decorations of the *kalāśam* and *kumbham* of the pilasters ‡ are simple. The *pódigai* or corbel is ordinarily of the Pallava type with roll-mouldings, but in some temples—for example in the Tirukkaṭṭalai temple—instead of a roll at the lower edge of the curved part of the corbel there is a concave moulding. The *dēvagoṣṭhas* are surmounted by double arched *tóranas*. The figures in the niches are in bas-relief in the earlier temples and in high relief in the later ones.

The *kapótam* or cornice is deep and has a single convex curve, ornamented with *kúḍus*, the finials of which are trifoliate—not spade-shaped like those of the normal Pallava type. The angles of the cornice are ornamented with the elaborate scroll-work known as *karukku*, and its lower edge displays indentations, or inverted scollops, intended to suggest lotus petals.

* It has been generally believed that the construction of temples entirely in stone ceased in Southern India with the first half of the ninth century, and that afterwards their upper parts were always built of brick. (See Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle, 1918-1919 page 28). A study of the Pudukkóṭṭai temples of the period shows this belief to be erroneous.

† E.g., Tirukkaṭṭalai, Koḍumbālūr, (Múvarkóvil), Cittūr, Panaṅguḍi, Kīlāttānaiyam, and Nārttāmalai (Kaḍambarkóvil).

‡ In some temples, as for example that at Cittūr, the pilasters are polygonal in section, a common feature of the later structures of this epoch.

In some temples there is a row of *bhūtagaṇas* immediately below the cornice.

The cupola surmounting the *garbhagrāham** is plain, and consists of a *grivam* or base, supporting a *śikharam* or dome, crowned by the *stūpi* or finial. In the Vijayālayacóllēvaram temple at Nārttāmalai there are several storeys supporting the cupola proper. Each storey has a *pañcaram* or turret like a miniature cupola at each corner. The *grivam* has always a *dēvagóṣṭham* on each side, and the *śikharam*, a large *kūḍu* on each face surmounted by a *simhalaḷātam*. The use of brick in the upper part of the *vimānam* came into vogue in the second half of this epoch.

* The following are the meanings of the architectural terms not explained in the text:—

Garbhagrāham is the 'Holy of Holies' or inner shrine in which the image or symbol of the God is placed.

Vimānam (literally—'Vehicle') refers to the cupola over a shrine—so called because it resembles the top of a temple car. In some Cōla temples, for example, Tanjore, the *Vimānam* is an immense pyramidal structure crowned by a cupola.

Prākāram is the walled enclosure (of which there may be one or several) round a temple. The wall of a *prākāram* is called *tirumatal*.

Gōpuram is the tower, in the form of a truncated pyramid of several stories, over the gateway.

Kūḍu is a more or less horse-shoe shaped ornament, representing originally the Sun-window of a Buddhist *Caitya*.

Tōraṇa are conventional festoons over a niche.

Bhūtagaṇa are grotesque figures of dwarf demons usually in series. They are sometimes represented as carrying musical instruments.

Kumudam is a deep convex string-course or torus.

Upānam is a bold moulding, the lowest member but one of the plinth.

Varimānam is one of the mouldings in the plinth, often decorated with lions' heads, etc.

Simhalaḷātam is a conventional lion's face surrounded by floral decoration forming the top of the gable of the upper storey of a *gōpuram*.

Kalāṣam is a vase-shaped member at the top of the shaft of a pillar, below the capital.

Kumbham is the bulbuous, or spherical flattened cushion-shaped capital of a pillar.

The *upapīṭham* or plinth consists of the *upānam*, the *kumudam* and the *varimānam*. The latter has a row of lions' heads larger than we find in the Pallava style, interrupted at the corners by the heads of *makharas*.*

The essential character of the bulbous capitals of this period is the large size of the *palagai* or abacus. The plain bevelled corbels of the earlier examples have a central triangular projection like a tenon, after about the 11th century.

Another interesting motif of the later years of this epoch is what Prof. Dubreuil calls, the 'decorative pilaster,†' which developed into the *kumbapañcaram*‡ with its vasiform base, of the 14th century and later. This is a broad flat pilaster, rising from a vase-shaped base, and terminating in a complicated ornament supported by a rearing horse forming a bracket on either side, and consisting of a sort of medallion, out of which rises something resembling a candelabrum flanked by two *makhara* heads.

The Pāṇḍya style lasted from 1100 to 1350 A. D. according to Prof. Dubreuil, and thus largely coincides with the period of the kings of the Cōḷa-Cālukya line, which came to an end in 1280 A. D. Owing to the weakening of the central authority of the Cōḷas and the discontinuance of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys, the Pāṇḍya power gradually developed, and in the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (acc. 1251) attained the hegemony of South India. This period ends with the Mussalman invasion of Madura.

The Pāṇḍya style, according to Prof. Dubreuil, is intermediary between the Cōḷa and Vijayanagar styles.

* The earliest structure in which these occur is the Mūvarkóvil at Koḍumbālūr. They are also found at the base of the *vimānam* in some temples, for example, the Mūvarkóvil, Vijayālaya Cōḷisvaram at Nārttāmalai, Kaḍambarkóvil, Kāliyāpatti, Tiruppūr, Viśalūr, Énádi and Cittūr.

† This is found in the Śiva temple at Kīlakkurichi.

‡ There are good examples in the temples at Maḍattukkóvil, and Perumānādu and in the Amman shrine in the Kaḍambarkóvil at Nārttāmalai.

The central *vimānam* becomes comparatively insignificant instead of being, as it is at Tanjore, by far the most prominent feature.

In this period the plain 'tenon-shaped' corbel-end is elaborated into a conventional pendent flower, the *puṣṣabódikai*, and its sides are ornamented with bold conventional foliage. Where the old form of the corbel persists, the sides behind the bevel are cut into perpendicular grooves. In the centre of the *kúḍu* is a completely circular recess surrounded by a roll-moulding; conventional foliage issues from the mouth of the lion in the finial and spreads out on each side of the upper part of the circular recess. Similar foliage sweeps round the lower half, and unites beneath it.

The *pañcarams*, or turrets, are elevated by the introduction of a base called the *karnakúḍu*. Brick was substituted for stone in their construction, and this explains why the upper parts of many temples of this style in the State are now in ruins, while the earlier temples built completely in stone are better preserved.

The *palagai* or abacus of the pillar now becomes smaller, and below it we find a scalloped member called the *idaḷ*, suggesting lotus-petals. The octagonal shaft with the square base now display the *nágapaḍam*, a novel ornament at the junction of shaft and base representing the head of a serpent, more or less conventionalized, and ultimately to become unrecognizable.

A large number of temples in the State belong to this style, and among them the Rājendra Cōḷśvaram at Ponnamarāvati, and the Śiva temples at Tiruvaraṅgulam, Tirumapañjéri, Kolattūr, Kàraiyr, Perumànaḍu, Puttambūr, and Irumbànaḍu. The Amman temples at Ponnamarāvati, the Śiva and Amman shrines at Kuḍumiyāmalai, and several *maṇḍapams* in the latter temple and in the Tirumayam Śiva and Viṣṇu temples were erected in the 13th century.

Sculpture.—

The transition from the Pallava to the Cōla style of sculpture was gradual, as was the corresponding architectural development. The Trīmūrti, Śaṅkaranārayaṇa, Brahma, Viṣṇu, the Lingódbhava, Gaṅgadaréśvara, and Sukhāsanamūrti forms of Śiva, Durgā or Mahiṣāsuramardhani, the Saptamātrkā, Nandikéśvara, the Gaṇas and the Gandharvas met with in the Pallava shrines are found also in this epoch. Apart from modifications of pose, the Cōla figures display a tendency to more elaborate ornamentation.

The seven sub-shrines surrounding the early Cōla temples of the 9th and 10th centuries housed the following deities—Sūrya, the Saptamātrka, Gaṇéśa, Subrahmaṇya, Jyēṣṭha*, Caṇḍéśvara and Candra.

Viṣṇu images of the Cōla and Pāṇḍya periods, standing or seated, are found with two Dévīs—Śrī and Bhūmi. All his incarnations are represented in the State temples,† but Narasimha, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa in their different forms are the commonest.

The earlier specimens of Dakṣiṇāmūrti all belong to the Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti‡ type. Gñāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti§ is another rare form found in some old temples. Vyākya and Yōga Dakṣiṇāmūrtis are the usual forms. The Anugraha or benevolent forms, and Bikhṣāṭanamūrti or mendicant forms of Śiva are very common in the State from the 10th century onwards. Of the

*The worship of Jyēṣṭha, 'the Destroyer of Fortune', continued in the State till the 15th or 16th century. She is represented as two-armed with a male attendant. Her banner bears a crow.

† Some of them are Zoomorphic.

‡ E. g. at Nārttāmalai, Tirukkattalai, and Tiruvaraṅguḷam.

§ The Archaeological Survey of Madras has taken a photograph of the Gñāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti image at Tiruvéṅgaivāsal in the State, which Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has reproduced as plate LXXV, Fig 1. in his book *Hindu Iconography*. Vol II, Part I. The figure is seated in the *Utkulāsana* posture—a posture suitable for concentration.

Samhàramúrta, or destructive forms of Śiva, Gajasambhàra and Kàlàrimúrta occur in the 10th century Múvarkóvil at Koḍumbàlúr. A very rare group of stone statues representing Tripuràntakamúrta, Tripurasundari and the Tripura demons has recently been unearthed in a field north of the Múvarkóvil. Kàmàntakamúrta is found but rarely in the State. Bhairava is found in almost all the Śiva temples. The four-armed form of Śiva as Natarāja is the more usual.*

The earlier forms of Subrahmanya found in the State temples have peculiar features.† Some are represented with the hand in the position called *Cinmudra*, ‡ or with the *akṣamāla* or rosary, along with his peculiar weapon, the *śakti* or spear. The six-faced and twelve-armed are later forms.

The Dévī is worshipped either in a separate shrine or by the side of the God as Umā, or Parvati, the consort of Śiva, or as Lakṣmi, the consort of Viṣṇu, or as Sarasvati, the consort of Brahma. The *Ardhanārīśvara*—(half-male-half-female)—form common in the State temples symbolises the combination of the male and female principles in the Godhead. In other forms such as Umā-mahéśvara and Lakṣmi-Nārāyana, the God and Goddess are seated side by side. The dancing *apsaras* and *yakṣiṇis* § on the panels of some temples,—the Vijayālaya Cōllésvaram and the Tirukkaṭṭalai temples for example,—are more or less naturalistic representations of feminine beauty.

The minor deities commonly found in temples in the State are Nandikéśvara, Caṇḍéśvara, Garuḍa and Hanumàn.

* The Madras Archaeological Survey has a photograph of a very rare bronze found in the Tiruvaraṅgulam temple representing Śiva performing the *Catura* mode of dance. Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has reproduced it as plate LXVI, Fig 2. in *Hindu Iconography*. Vol. II, Part I. In this dance the left leg is not stretched out across the right thigh but is slightly bent, and its toes just touch the prostrated demon.

† E. g. the original image of the Kaṇṇanúr temple, now broken, and the one in one of the sub-shrines of the Tirukkaṭṭalai temple.

‡ That is with the index finger bent and touching the thumb, while the other fingers point upwards.

§ Different orders of nymphs.

The worship of the images of apotheosised saints, began in the State in about the 13th century.

Of the two figures of Naṭarāja illustrated in this volume, that at Tiruvaraṅguḷam is better finished but that at Māṅgaḍu is artistically superior.

There are two illustrations of stone sculptures in this Volume. One is a 10th century figure of *Ardhanārīśvara* in the Múvarkóvil. The earliest example of this image in South India occurs in a panel of the Mahéndravarmān rock-cut temple at Trichinopoly. The sculptor of the Koḍumbāḷūr image has handled this difficult subject with remarkable skill, duly emphasizing the female and male characteristics of the left and right halves of the figure respectively, while succeeding in producing an æsthetically pleasing whole.

The other figure from the Múvarkóvil is that of Śiva or Kālasamhāra or the destroyer of the demon Kāla. It possesses considerable vitality but the posture of the lower limbs is ungraceful.

There are other sculptures in the State, that may bear comparison with the best examples of Cōla art elsewhere.

A majority of the Jain images* found in the State represent Mahāvīra. They are sculptured in high-relief or bas-relief, either alone or attended by chowrie-bearers, and seated in the *siddhāsana* † pose under a triple umbrella. He is often attended by Mātanka and Siddhāyikā. ‡ Statues of Ṛṣabhadēva, Nēminātha and Pārśvanātha and Yakṣis are also common. The image of Pārśvanātha recently discovered in Chetṭipatti is a fine specimen. A few Jain bronzes unearthed in the southern and eastern parts of Pudukkōṭṭai town are exhibited in the

* How many of them belong to this period cannot be decided with certainty. Some of them may be earlier.

† In the *siddhāsana* pose, the legs are crossed in front.

‡ Mātanka is the *yakṣa* or male attendant, and Siddhāyikā, the *yakṣiṇī* or female attendant of Mahāvīra. Gómukha is the *yakṣa* and Cakrēśvari, the *yakṣiṇī* of Ṛṣabhadēva.

State Museum. The most interesting of them is a fine relieve in bronze, probably of the 10th century A. D., with figures of all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. In the centre is the nude figure of Rṣabhadéva standing on a lotus with his hands hanging down. On his right is Gómukha and on his left Cakrésvarī. The other Tīrthaṅkaras are arranged in rows on each side and above the arch over the central figure.

SECTION V.—FOURTEENTH TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE.

SANGAMA DYNASTY (1336 to 1486 A. D.).

"Every thing seemed to be leading up to but one inevitable end—the ruin and devastation of the Hindu provinces, the annihilation of their old royal houses, the destruction of their religion, their temples and their cities."* This observation of Mr. Sewell succinctly describes the condition of Southern India in the decades following the invasion of Málikkafur. The Hoysala power had declined. South India was saved, however, by Harihara and Bukka sons of Saṅgama, a Yādava feudatory of the Hoysalas. In 1336 A. D., the two brothers founded the city of Vijayanagar, and with the help of the Sage Vidyāranya established a Hindu Empire which for a time stemmed the Islamic onrush.

Bukka's rule (1356 to 1376 A. D.)† over the South was unchallenged. After him *Harihara II* assumed the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. In 1404, three brothers, *Bukka II*, *Virūpākṣa*, and *Dēvarāja I* hotly disputed the throne. Both Bukka I and Harihara I fought with the Bāhmini Sultān for the possession of the Raichūr Doab. This struggle continued in the reign of Devaraja I (1404 to 1422 A. D.) also. *Viravijaya* or *Vijaya Bukka III* ruled from 1422 to 1424 A. D. The Bāhmini wars continued in the reign of his successor *Dēva Rāya II* (1424–1446 A. D.). We owe much of our knowledge of the splendour of the Vijayanagar Empire of this period to the Italian Nicolo Conti and the Persian Abdur Razzāk. The period following the death of Dēva Rāya, was a troublous one. In the forty years preceding the usurpation of Narasimha Sāluva, there were frequent changes of rulers many of whom appear to have met violent deaths.

* *A Forgotten Empire*—p. 5.

† The dates given here for the Vijayanagar Emperors are taken from the *Mysore Gazetteer*—Vol. II, Part III.

Mallikárjuna, the son of Déva Ràya II, was king till about A. D. 1468 when the real power passed into the hands of his nephew *Virúpakṣa III*, though he retained a nominal sovereignty, till about 1487 A. D.—when Sāluva Narasimha Ràya, chief of Chandragiri, usurped the throne.

The Viceroyalty of the South.—

Kampaṇa.—In this work, we are more concerned with the Viceroys of the South than with the emperors who ruled at Vijayanagar. We have already mentioned* how Kumàra Kampaṇa, a son of Bukka I conquered the Tonḍaimaṇḍalam and Mā'bar, terminated the Sultanate of Madura, established Hindu rule over the South and revived worship in the temples of Srirangam and Madura which had been discontinued during the Muslim occupation. There is an inscription of Kampaṇa's reign, dated A. D. 1371, at Tiruppullāpi a few miles to the south of Ramnad which indicates perhaps the farthest limit of his victorious march. In his campaigns and the administration of the conquered dominions, Kampaṇa was assisted by his general Gópaṇa and his minister Sómappa. After his conquests, his father and overlord Bukka I assumed the title of *Suratrāṇa* of the Hindu Ràjas, meaning 'the overlord of the Hindu Ràjas.' Among the vassal Ràjas were the princes of the old Pāṇḍya line whom Kampaṇa reinstated as nominal rulers of the extreme South, a position that they willingly accepted.

P. S. I. 681 dated A. D. 1374 (Tamil year *Ānanda*) mentions the reign of Kampaṇa. P. S. I. 960 and 961 at Kuḍumiyāmalai, dated in the Tamil year *Naḷa* (A. D. 1376) refer to local events that 'took place after the end of Kampaṇa's reign.'† We may conclude that Kampaṇa died in or about 1374–5.‡

Virasāvaṇa Uḍaiyār.—This ruler is mentioned in the State inscriptions, P. S. I. 682 at Tirugókaṇṇam dated in *Raudri* (A. D. 1380) and 683 at Kóvilūr dated in *Dunmati* (A. D. 1382).

* See pages 634–636.

† *Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyār-rācciyam-dna-piṇṇu*.

‡ *Mysore Gazetteer* Vol. II, Part III, pp. 1492–3.

Virupākṣa,* son of Harihara II, is reputed to have conquered the Tondaimaṇḍalam and Cōla and Pāṇḍya countries over which he ruled as Viceroy and to have set up a pillar of victory in the island of Ceylon.† There are nine inscriptions in the State (P. S. I. 684 to 692) dated in his reign, ranging from A. D. 1385 to 1409.

Vīra Bhūpati Uḍaiyār (A. D. 1409–21) and *Vīra Rāyaṇa Uḍaiyār*. P. S. I. 696 and 697 are dated in the reign of Vīra Bhūpati who was the only son of Bukka II, and P. S. I. 698 (A. D. 1419) in the reign of Vīra Rāyaṇa, son of Vīra Bhūpati. We do not know whether they were joint-rulers with Bukka II or Déva Rāya I at Vijayanagar. They were in charge of the province which included the present State of Pudukkōṭṭai.

Lakkana and Mādana.—These two brothers ruled over the Tamil country during the reign of Déva Rāya II. Mādana ruled over the Tanjore country and Lakkana over Madura. The latter was a famous general who organized the imperial army, and in addition to his title of Viceroy of Madura was also known as 'the lord of the Southern Ocean' in commemoration of his successful expedition to Ceylon. There is an inscription of Lakkana at Pirāṇmalai just outside the State (M. E. R. 1903 No. 141, A. D. 1438) recording a gift made in order to secure merit for his brother Mādana. He is reputed to have settled a dispute as to the succession among the Pāṇḍya princes.

After the death of Déva Rāya II there was disorder in the southern provinces, and, as a result of the pre-occupation of the emperors with the wars in the North, their hold on the South was loosened.

* *Mysore Gazetteer* Vol. II, Part III, Table of Pedigree p. 1666.

† See Virupākṣa's Alampunḍi Plate, his poem *Nārdyaṇtvīḍsam* and *Mysore Gazetteer* Vol. II, Part III, p. 1626.

P. S. I. 713 (*Manmata* S. 1397,* A. D. 1475) and 714 (A. D. 1480) are dated in the reign of Pratāpa Déva Rāya, who may be identified with Déva Rāya IV,† the second son of Mallikārjuna. We do not know whether he was only a provincial governor or shared the imperial dignity at Vijayanagar.

Pudukkóttai inscriptions of the Saṅgama period†.—

State inscriptions of this period mention the chiefs of Śūraikkudi§, Perambūr,|| and Śéndavanmaṅgalam,¶ the Vāṇādarāyars and Gāṅgaiyarāyars,** the Pallava chiefs of Perungalūr,†† and the Tonḍaimān chiefs of Arantāṅgi.‡‡ P. S. I. 778 (A. D. 1371) mentions a Pāṇḍya prince Sundara Pāṇḍya Cakravarti, and P. S. I. 702 (A. D. 1436), a Nāyak chief or noble-man Ambuja Rāya Uḍaiyār. There are frequent references to the building of sub-shrines in the temples in the State, the installation of gods and saints, and the establishment of maṭhas. The local assemblies continued to function as before, and joint-sessions of the different assemblies are mentioned. The inscriptions frequently record feuds between rival chieftains, and the sale of *Pādikkāval* rights by villages who sought the protection of either a powerful chief or the assembly of a better organised town or village in the neighbourhood.

* S. 1392, the year given on page 111 in the Chronological list of the State inscriptions, should be 1397 which corresponds to the Tamil year *Manmata*.

† See *Mysore Gazetteer* Vol. II, Part III, p. 1666—Table of Pedigree of the First Dynasty.

‡ P. S. I. 680-719 and 778-821 may be assigned to the first dynasty. P. S. I. 680 is dated in the reign of Bukka I, 684-692 in that of Virūpākṣa II, 693 and 695 in that of Bukka II, 699 in that of Déva Rāya I, 700-706 in that of Déva Rāya II, 707-712 in that of Mallikārjuna and 715-718 in that of Virūpākṣa III.

§ P. S. I. 685, 699, 707, 712, 720, 783, 786, 789, 792, 798, 800, 821.

|| P. S. I. 687, 695, 700.

¶ P. S. I. 823, 824.

** P. S. I. 715.

†† P. S. I. 711, 713, 714.

‡‡ P. S. I. 784, 794, 820 and 823.

THE ŚĀLUVA DYNASTY (A. D. 1466-1499).

Śāluva Narasimha I (1486-1497 A.D.) was at first a provincial governor. Between A. D. 1467 and 1485 he made grants in his own name without mentioning that of the ruling sovereign. By A. D. 1486 his usurpation was complete. Between 1486 and 1497 Narasimha ruled as sovereign from Vijayanagar. His son *Immaḍi Narasimha* or *Narasimha* II also called *Vīra Damma Rāya*, or *Bhujabala Rāya* (1493 to 1506 A. D.) shared the throne with his father as joint-ruler from 1492-93 A. D. When he became the sole ruler, he was only a titular sovereign, and the real power was in the hands of Narasaṇa (or Narasa) Nayaka, who had been commander-in-chief under his father. Narasaṇa completely usurped the royal authority in 1499. He died in 1503 and Immaḍi Narasimha did not long survive him.

Events in the South.—

Even before Śāluva Narasimha usurped the throne, members of the Śāluva family held offices of trust in the South. Mr. Krishna Sastri refers to Timma, a brother of Narasimha, the usurper, who made rich gifts of jewels and villages to the temples of Śrīraṅgam and Tiruvānaikkóvil near Trichinopoly. Another Śāluva chief Gópa-Timma is mentioned in inscriptions at Śrīraṅgam, Tiruvānaikkóvil, Kuḍumiyāmalai, and Tanjore between A. D. 1453 and 1466.*

Narasimha Rāya, the first Śāluva emperor, made a tour of his dominions and passed through the Pudukkóṭṭai country on his way to Madura, Raméśvaram and Trivandrum after visiting Kumbakóṇam, Śrīraṅgam and Tiruvānaikkóvil. One of his generals and administrators was Nāgama Nāyak, whom Mr. Krishna Sastri identifies as the father of Viśvanātha Nāyak, the founder of the Nāyak dynasty of Madura.

Narasana Nāyak, the first Tuḷuva usurper led a campaign against the Pāṇḍya king Mānabhūṣa—generally identified with Arikésari Parākrama Pāṇḍya,—who was probably allied with

* See *Mysore Gazetteer* Vol. II, Part III, p. 1684.

Sundarattóluḍaiyàn Māvalivàṇḍaràyan, then in possession of the city of Madura (about A. D. 1466). He captured Śrīraṅgam and Tanjore, the Cōla capital. He then marched South through the Pudukkóttai country, and after killing the Maṇava ruler captured Madura and then proceeded to Ramésvaram. The Madura country was afterwards administered by chiefs directly subordinate to Narasaṇa Nàyak. Two Pirāṇmalai inscriptions dated in A. D. 1500 mention grants of villages to Brahmins made in order to secure merit for Ayyan Tipparāsa, a minister of Narasaṇa.* Narasaṇa held this minister in high regard as is indicated in a State inscription, P. S. I. 772 at Tirukkālambūr (A. D. 1502), an order of Narasaṇa himself remitting the tax on oil-mills, and ordering the free supply to the temple of oil for lamps and to anoint the gods to secure merit for Tipparāsa. Mr. Krishna Sastri (M. E. R. 1914 paragraph 28) refers to Erāmañci Timmappa Nàyak who is also mentioned in the *Kóyiloḷugu*, a historical record of events relating to the Śrīraṅgam temple. He seems to have made a number of gifts. P. S. I. 967 at Tirumayam records that he endowed a village to meet the cost of repairing the Viṣṇu temple which was done by his agent Daḷavai Vaiyappa Nàyak.

Inscriptions of the Śāluva Dynasty.—

The State inscriptions of this period are all dated after A. D. 1500, and will be examined together with those of the Tuḷuva dynasty.

THE TUḶUVA † DYNASTY (1499 to 1570 A. D.).

Vīra Narasimha I (1497 to 1503 A. D.).—Narasaṇa, the usurper and founder of the Tuḷuva dynasty, is referred to in inscriptions as Vīra Narasimha I, or simply Narasimha.

Vīra Narasimha II also called *Bhūiabala Rāya* (1504–1509 A.D.) is the *Busbalarao* of Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler.

* *Ibid* p. 1746.

† Tuḷuva = a native of the Tuḷu country in South Kanara,

One of his titles was *Vīra Pratāpa*. He had to put down rebellions in different parts of the empire. Judging from what Nuniz says about him, he left an empire seething with discontent.

Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya (1509–1530 A. D.) was the greatest of the Vijayanagar kings. He captured the fortresses of Udayagiri in the Nellore District, Raichūr and Muḍkal, and defeated the armies of Orissa, Bījapūr and Gólkonda. He destroyed the fort of Gulbarga. As Sir Vincent Smith records, "the dark pages of the sanguinary study of the mediæval kingdoms of the Deccan, whether Hindu or Muhamadan, are relieved by few names of men who claim respect on personal merits. The figure of Kṛṣṇa Rāya stands out prominent." A mighty warrior, catholic in his faith, kind and merciful to a fallen foe, of imposing personal appearance, admired and respected by foreign ambassadors who visited his court, a patron of letters and art, a benefactor to his people, and a great temple-builder, Kṛṣṇa Rāya was one of the greatest of South Indian monarchs.* He ruled directly the whole of South India, over which he toured lavishing gifts upon temples, to which he added thousand-pillared *maṇḍapams* and colossal *gōpurams*.

Acyuta Rāya (1530–1542 A. D.) lost to the Bījapūr Sultān the forts of Raichūr and Muḍkal, which his brother Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya had conquered. There was a rival faction in the court led by Rāma Rāja, the son-in-law of Kṛṣṇa Dēva.

Sadāsiva Rāya (1542–1570 A. D.). Acyuta's death was followed by intrigues and counter-intrigues. Rāma Rāja proclaimed Sadāsiva, Acyuta's nephew, emperor, and himself ruled in the provinces. In the capital, the boy *Veṅkaṭagiri* or *Veṅkaṭa Dēva*, Acyuta's son, was proclaimed emperor, but he was assassinated by Saḷakarāju Tirumala, the minister of Acyuta. Rāma Rāja appealed to the Adil Shāh of Bījapūr for help.

* Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India for 1908–1909 p. 186.

Tirumala successfully repulsed an attack by the B́ijapúr army on the capital. The people then elected *Salakaráju Cinna Tirumala* as emperor (A. D. 1543). Ràma Ràja fought his way into the capital, defeated Tirumala and crowned Sadàsiva at Vijayanagar in A. D. 1543-4.

Ràma Ràja now ruled as Regent of the empire. He entered into an alliance with Ahmednagar and Golkonda against B́ijapúr, and later with B́ijapúr against Ahmednagar. In the course of the Ahmednagar campaign, Ràma Ràja's forces so ruthlessly devastated the country, that the Mussalman States of the Deccan combined together to wage a relentless war against the 'infidel State.' The battle of Rakhas Tagđi or Tàlikóṭa (A. D. 1565) is famous in South Indian history as the decisive engagement which broke the Vijayanagar power. Ràma Ràja was killed and the city of Vijayanagar, which had been the wonder of all foreigners who visited it, was literally razed to the ground.

Ràma Ràja's brother Tirumala led the puppet Sadàsiva to Penukonda. A little later Tirumala usurped the throne and formed the fourth or Àravíḍu dynasty.

The Viceroyalty of the South.—

Narasaṇa Nàyaka's campaign in the South has been narrated above.

A secretary of V́iranarasimha II made an endowment to the temple at Panaiyúr (P. S. I. 724, A. D. 1507) to secure merit for his royal master. P. S. I. 726 (A. D. 1510) refers to a Pallavaràya chief of Vaḷuttúr or Vaittúr in the State who called himself Narasiṅga Nàyaka Pallavaràyar after his Vijayanagar overlord. This chief had to sell a village in order to find money to pay his tribute to Vijayanagar. A Śivapúr inscription (M. E. R. 36 of 1928-29) dated 1500 states that Nàgama Nàyak, a Vijayanagar general, held the country round Piràṇmalai on the borders of the State.

Some time shortly after 1518 Kṛṣṇa Déva Ràya sent an army to the South to punish the Pàṇḍya chief of Kayattūr (Catur of Nuniz) and captured Quilon. After his conquests in the north Kṛṣṇa Déva made a triumphal march across his empire. He visited Tirupati, and halting at all important shrines, reached Cape Comorin, and then on his way back visited Ràmés̥varam. Among the places that he visited, the *Rayávācakamu* and the *Kṛṣṇa Rāja Vijayamu*, mention Gókarṇam where he is said to have worshipped Gókarṇésa and Bṛhadambā, to whom he presented many valuable jewels. This Gókarṇam is obviously Tirugókarṇam in the State.*

The reign of Acyuta Ràya witnessed a serious rebellion in the South about 1530-31. *Cellappa*, also known as *Vira Nara-siṅga Náyaka* (Sālvany or Sālvanyaque of Núiz) was governor of the Tamil provinces, and was allied with the chiefs of the South, including Quilon, against the emperor.† Acyuta camped at Śrīraṅgam and sent his general Saḷakarāju Tirumala to subjugate the enemy. Cellappa's rule over the area now forming the Pudukkóṭṭai State is attested by inscriptions in the State. He is reported to have fixed the rates of taxes due to him in several villages (P. S. I. 720 A. D. 1522 and P. S. I. 733 A. D. 1519 at Tiruvaraṅgulaṁ) which the local Araiars and chieftains were unable to pay without selling their villages. P. S. I. 735 records a grant by Cellappa to the Viṣṇu and Śiva temples at Tirumayam in the ratio of 3 : 2.

* C. Hayavadana Rao identifies the place with one of the same name in the Shimóga district of Mysore, and warns the reader against identifying it with Tirugókarṇam in the Pudukkóṭṭai State and other places of the same name in the Gaṇjam and Guntur districts. The learned author forgets, that according to the Telugu poems on which he relies, Gókarṇam is mentioned as a place which he visited on his journey from Ràmés̥varam to Seringapatam, which shows that it could not have been in the Shimóga district. The name of the Goddess, *Bṛhadamba*, is sufficient to dispel any reasonable doubt on the subject.

† See Dr. N. Venkataramaṇḍayya: *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara* pp. 25 to 29.

1. The Nayak dynasty of Madura.—

We first hear of *Vīśvanātha Nāyak*, the founder of this dynasty, as the Vijayanagar governor of the South* who expelled a *Vāṇādarāya* from Madura. How long he was governor, we do not know. The circumstances that led to his appointment as ruler of Madura were as follows—*Vīraśekhara Cōla*, the then chief of Tanjore, dispossessed *Candrasēkhara Pāṇḍya*. Thereupon the latter appealed to Vijayanagar, and *Nāgama Nāyak* was sent to his aid. *Nāgama* suppressed the rising, but assumed independent authority at Madura. The emperor was furious, and *Viśvanātha*, *Nāgama*'s son, volunteered to subjugate his own father, which he successfully did. *Viśvanātha* was rewarded with the hereditary rulership of Madura.

Viśvanātha Nāyak ruled till 1563. He improved the fortifications of Madura, and of Trichinopoly which he got in exchange for Vallam from the Tanjore ruler. He was assisted by his able *Dalavai Ariyanātha*. He put down the rebellion of the *Pāṇḍya* chiefs of the South. One important step taken by *Viśvanātha* and *Ariyanātha* was the introduction of the *Pālaiyakkār* † system. The *Pālaiyams* were held as military fiefs and the *Pālayakkāras* were severally responsible for the defence of the 72 bastions of the Madura fort and the peace and order of the country entrusted to them. Some of the *poligars* ruled over parts of the Pudukkóttai State as we shall see later in this section.

During the reign of *Viśvanātha* the emperor sent his general *Viṭṭhala* on an expedition to Travancore to punish the local chieftains for their defection. *Viśvanātha* helped *Viṭṭhala* in his campaigns. *Viṭṭhala*'s agent, *Rāmappa Nāyak*, is mentioned in a *Tiruvarāṅḡulam* inscription (P. S. I. 752, A. D. 1540).

* See 113 of 1908—Tirupattūr inscription.

† = Minister and general.

‡ or *poligar*.

Kṛṣṇappa Nāyak—A. D. 1564–1572—quelled a rebellion of the Poligars and invaded Ceylon. P. S. I. 959 at Virālimalai (A. D. 1555) records that two Cheṭṭiyars of Trichinopoly instituted the palanquin festival for the God of the temple there in order to secure merit for prince Kṛṣṇappa and the Daḷavai Ariyanātha.

The Madura Nāyak kingdom then included the present districts of Tinnevely, Madura, Rāmnād, Trichinopoly and Coimbatore, and the Pudukkōṭṭai State with the exception of the eastern part, which was under the Tanjore Nāyaks.

2. The Nayak dynasty of Tanjore.—

About 1549, the emperor Acyuta appointed his brother-in-law Śevvappa Nāyak, Viceroy of Tanjore. This principality soon became an independent State.

THE ARAVĪDU DYNASTY (A. D. 1670–1776).

Tirumala was the first *de jure* ruler of this dynasty. Śrī Rāṅga I (A. D. 1576–1586), who succeeded Tirumala, was defeated by the Sultān of Gōlkoṇḍa and taken prisoner. The capital was transferred to Chandragiri.

In the reign of *Veṅkaṭa I* (A. D. 1586–1614) the empire finally crumbled. The Madura viceroyalty practically became an independent kingdom. Rāja Woḍeyār carved out for himself the principality of Mysore. In the reign of Śrī Rāṅga II (A. D. 1614–15), there were two rival parties, who in their struggle for power put to death all the members of the royal family except prince Rāma who had fled and subsequently ruled as emperor from 1615 to 1633. The capital was then removed from Chandragiri to Vellore. *Veṅkaṭapati* ruled till A. D. 1642. In his reign, Madras was ceded to Francis Day, the representative of the English East India Company. This marks the beginning of English expansion in South India, a process in which the present ruling house of Pudukkōṭṭai played no mean part.

Śrī Ranga III ruled from A. D. 1642 to 1681 (?). We know very little about his descendants, who were no better than feudatories under the Mughals. The last scion of the Āravīḍu dynasty, a chief of Āneguṇḍi, was dispossessed by Tipu Sultān in A. D. 1776.

Events in the South : 1. The Nayak kingdom of Madura.—

The history of the Nāyak principality of Madura after about A. D. 1574 is a record of struggle for independence. As stated above on page 708 the Vijayanagar power suffered an irreparable blow at the battle of Tālikōṭa, and its representatives were forced to establish their capital successively at Penukoṇḍa, Chandragiri and Vellore. In the beginning of the 17th century, the Nāyaks of the South were practically independent sovereigns, though they kept up the convention of paying some sort of tribute or marks of respect to the emperor. The Nāyaks were nominally the overlords of the Tonḍaimāns of Pudukkóṭṭai who rose to power and influence towards the close of the 17th century. *Kumāra Kṛṣṇappa*, the second Nāyak ruler, did not long survive Tirumala, the first Āravīḍu emperor. After him reigned his two sons *Viśvanātha II* (A. D. 1572) and *Viṛappa* (A. D. 1572-1595). In the reign of the latter who had defeated a Māvali Vānādarāyan, a war broke out between the Nāyak and the emperor which was the first overt indication of the rebellion of the Tamil viceroys. Viṛappa was succeeded by his three sons, *Viśvappa* (A. D. 1595) *Kṛṣṇappa II* (A. D. 1595-1601) and *Kastūri Raṅgappa* (1601). Ariyanātha, the famous minister who served four Nāyak rulers, died in 1588 in the reign of Kṛṣṇappa. *Muttukṛṣṇappa* (A. D. 1601-09) is the reputed founder of the Sétupati dynasty of Rāmnād. The Sétupatis in return for large territories granted to them in the Maṛava country undertook to suppress crime, and protect pilgrims to Rāmésvaram. This dynasty was for some generations closely connected with the Tonḍaimān house of Pudukkóṭṭai. The reign of *Muttuvirappa* (A. D. 1609-1623) witnessed another Nāyak rebellion against the Vijayanagar overlord.

The most famous king of this dynasty was *Tirumala Náyak* (c. 1623-1659) with whose name are associated some famous buildings in Madura and elsewhere. During his reign, the Vijayanagar monarchs made their last attempt to reassert their failing authority. Tirumala withheld the tribute due to the emperor. To punish him for his contumacy Śrī Raṅga, the Vijayanagar emperor, marched South. Tirumala tried to win over the viceroys of Tanjore and Ginjee, but the Tanjore viceroy betrayed his designs. Thereupon Tirumala sought the help of the Sultān of Gólconḍa (A. D. 1644?) who defeated the imperial forces and obliged the emperor to seek protection from the viceroy of Mysore. The avaricious Sultān advanced upon Ginjee. Tanjore submitted. The Sultān of Bījapūr whose assistance Tirumala had sought went over to the side of Gólconḍa and captured Ginjee. Tirumala retreated, and the Muslims advanced southwards, and laid waste the country including the Pudukkóṭṭai State as far as Madura. They were only induced to withdraw by the promise of an annual payment of tribute.

Tirumala exhibited his treachery again when he invoked the help of Gólconḍa to overthrow Mysore. The victorious Muslims again descended on Madura and levied an enormous tribute from Tirumala. The Pudukkóṭṭai country again suffered the ravages of a Muslim army. The depredations of an Abyssinian Kānākhān (Khān-i-khānān=commander-in chief) are related in the letters of the Madura mission. He entered the territory now belonging to the Tondaimāns, slaughtered the men and outraged the women. We need not linger here over the final stages of the Mysore war.

Muttu Vīrappa II, (1659) the next ruler, was equally powerless against the attacks of the Adil Shāh who marched into the Tanjore country, which his soldiery devastated together with the adjoining parts of the State. Their excesses caused famine and pestilence from which they themselves suffered. The guerilla tactics of the Kallars of the State and of Tanjore obliged them finally to retreat.

Cokkanàtha (A.D. 1659-1682) succeeded temporarily in driving back the Muslims to Ginjee. They returned in 1664 however and again devastated the Trichinopoly and Madura districts and the Pudukkóttai State till at last they were bought off with a large sum. *Cokkanàtha* then turned upon the rulers of Tanjore and Ramnad whom he wanted to punish for failing to assist him against the Muslims. The Ramnad campaign marks the beginning of the attempts of the Sétupatis to secure their independence. *Cokkanàtha* captured the important forts of Tirupattúr, Pudukkóttai, Mânàmadurai and Kàlàyarkóvil, but he was no match for the guerilla tactics of his adversary, the Sétupati. He, captured Tanjore however, on the pretext of punishing the Nàyak of the place who had refused to give him his daughter in marriage, and placed Alagiri, his foster brother, on the throne, but soon had to acquiesce in the independence of Tanjore.

Finally *Cokkanàtha*'s subjects unable to bear his vacillating foreign policy, ineptitude and maladministration rose against him, deposed him and placed his brother *Muttulinga* or *Muttu Alakádrì* on the throne (A. D. 1678). A Muslim adventurer Rustam Khàn, who was a cavalry officer, taking advantage of these dissensions, took possession of the fort of Trichinopoly and proclaimed himself ruler. For the next two years, the Madura country including Pudukkóttai was under Muslim rule. The Sétupati and other poligars managed to get Rustam murdered, and *Cokkanàtha* reigned once more. At last, harassed by Mysore and the Maràthas, who had gained control over Ginjee and Tanjore, he died in despair.

His successor *Raṅgākṛṣṇa Muttu Virappa* (A. D. 1682-89) inherited but a small part of the kingdom. The country was in a state of anarchy. He succeeded however in recovering his capital from the Maràthas. A new factor had now appeared in South Indian politics. Aurangzeb who had conquered the Deccan States in A. D. 1686-87 sent his armies to the South,

The Pudukkóttai Tonḍaimàṇ dynasty was founded during this reign (1686). Raghunàtha Ràya Tonḍaimàṇ, the first ruler of the line, had previously helped Muttu Vírappa in the defence of Trichinopoly. We shall mention the other services that he and his brother rendered to the Nàyak king in the next section.

Maṅgammāl, the mother of the late Nàyak king, ruled from A. D. 1689 to 1706 as Queen Regent on behalf of his posthumous son. In her reign Madura came into direct touch with Delhi. Zulfikarkhan, the Moghal general, exacted tribute from the Nàyak State. In 1695 the Tonḍaimàṇ of Pudukkóttai saved Trichinopoly from the Mysore forces. In 1698, Maṅgammāl subdued a rebellion in Travancore, in which campaign the Tonḍaimàṇ rendered active service. Maṅgammāl is remembered by posterity as a popular ruler, a maker of roads and planter of avenues and a builder of temples, tanks and choultries.

Vijaya Raṅga Cokkanátha (A. D. 1706-32). In this reign the succession to the chiefship of Ramnad was disputed. One of the claimants was supported by Tanjore and the other by Madura and the Tonḍaimàṇ of Pudukkóttai. The ultimate result of this dispute was that the Ramnad State was split up into two—Ramnad and Śivagaṅga.

Mínākṣi (A. D. 1732-36), succeeded as Queen Regent, but her position was challenged by the pretender Baṅgàru Tirumala, the natural father of her adopted son. The Nawab of Arcot, the Moghal representative in the South, sent his son to reduce the kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura. Baṅgàru appealed to the Nawab with whose support he was proclaimed king. Mínākṣi unsuccessfully negotiated with Canda Sahib, the Moghal governor, who treacherously possessed himself of the kingdom of Madura. She then poisoned herself. Thus ended the Nàyak dynasty of Madura.

2. The Nayak kingdom of Tanjore.—

Śevvappa's son, *Acyutappa*, assisted his father in the administration of the country. When he became ruler, he was fortunate in the possession of an able minister in Góvinda Dīkṣita. A Malayaḍippaṭṭi inscription (P. S. I. 912) records a gift of nine villages by this chief to the Viṣṇu temple there, and there is another, much damaged, in the same place (P. S. I. 757 dated 1586?) which mentions him. These show that the eastern part of the State was under the rule of the Tanjore Nāyaks. The next ruler was *Raghunātha* who remained loyal when the Nāyak of Madura headed a combination against the Vijayanagar emperor Rama in a war of succession.

Vijaya Rāghava who succeeded Raghunātha joined in an unsuccessful conspiracy against Cokkanātha Nāyak of Madura. When the Muslims devastated Trichinopoly, Madura and the Pudukkóttai country, Cokkanātha of Madura had to buy them off, but he punished Vijaya Rāghava for assisting them. Cokkanātha's last war with Tanjore resulted in the extinction of the Nāyak dynasty there. Vijaya Rāghava had refused to give his daughter in marriage to Cokkanātha. The Madura troops invaded Tanjore and stormed the fort. Vijaya Rāghava rather than surrender, blew up the fort killing himself and the ladies of the harem. Cokkanātha placed his foster brother Alagiri on the throne.

Supporters of the royal family wished to place a young fugitive prince Śaṅgamala Dās on the throne with the help of the Sultān of Bījapūr. The Sultān sent his Maratha general Ēkōji or Veṅkājī to Tanjore. Ēkōji defeated Alagiri, but instead of placing Śaṅgamala on the throne seized the kingdom for himself. Thus Tanjore became a Marātha kingdom.

Raghunātha Rāya Tonḍaimān, the founder of the Pudukkóttai line of Tonḍaimāns was in the service of Vijaya Rāghava Nāyak. The Tonḍaimān helped him by controlling the turbulent Kallars. Vijaya Rāghava is the reputed builder of the fort of Kīlānilai in the State, now in ruins.

*Pudukkóttai inscriptions of the Śāluva, Tuluva and Araviḍu dynasties.**

The chiefs of Śúraikkudi, Kaṭṭalūr, Vaittūr and Peruṅgalūr and Māvali Vāṇadarāya chieftains figure in the inscriptions of this period. There are some inscriptions recording grants by the Tonḍaimāns of Arantāṅgi who ruled over parts of the State. There are references to some nobles, belonging either to the Vijayanagar house or to local families who bore Vijayanagar names, for instance, Rāhuva Nāyakar, son of Tippa Nāyakar (P. S. I. 741 dated A. D. 1524) who boasts of having established the Cōla kingdom, evidently exaggerating some service rendered to one of the Cōla princes, Mahāmaṇḍalésvara Immaḍi Akkala déva Cōla Mahārāja (P. S. I. 754 dated A. D. 1549), Vāsavappaiya (P. S. I. 744, 928 and 925) and Ayyan Tyāgan Nāyaka (P. S. I. 755 dated A. D. 1549). Acyutappa Sāmantanār, an unidentified feudatory, is mentioned in P. S. I. 757 dated A. D. 1586. Vīrappa Pūccaiya Nāyak mentioned in P. S. I. 760 dated A. D. 1620 was a poligar of Maruṅgāpuri. Others are Aḷagappa Nāyak and Śellappa Muttaiya Nāyakā mentioned in P. S. I. 761 (A. D. 1636) and Kumāra Veṅka(l)a Nāyak mentioned in P. S. I. 941.

* P. S. I. 722 and 723 are dated in the reign of Śāluva Immaḍi Narasimha; 720, 721, and 724-727 in that of Tuluva Vīra Narasimha II; 728-741 in that of Kṛṣṇa Rāya, 742-752 in that of Acyuta Rāya; and 754-757 in that of Sadāsiva Rāya. P. S. I. 720-757 and 836-855 and 967 may be assigned to the Śāluva and Tuluva periods. P. S. I. 758 is dated in the reign of Tirumala Déva Rāya, but the date given in the inscription is not complete. P. S. I. 759 is dated in the reign of Veṅkaṭa (A. D. 1586-1614); 760 in that of Rāma (A. D. 1615-30) and 761 and 762 in that of Veṅkaṭa (A. D. 1630 or 1633-42). P. S. I. 762 is dated in A. D. 1645 in the reign of Veṅkaṭapati Rāya; but this Veṅkaṭa is believed to have died in A. D. 1642. In the light of this inscription we may have to revise the date of Veṅkaṭa's death. It may also be that this is an example of the practice of continuing to mention the names of kings in inscriptions even after their death. It is difficult to ascertain to what dynasties and kings the mutilated and anonymous Vijayanagar inscriptions should be assigned. We may perhaps assign P. S. I. 764, 765 and 856 to 869 to the fourth dynasty.

CHIEFSHIPS, PÁLAYAMS AND ZAMÍNDÁRIS WITHIN OR ADJOINING PUDUKKÓTTAI.

The history of the foundation and growth of the Tonḍaimàṇ kingdom can not be understood without some knowledge of the political background formed by the States and chiefships with whom the Tonḍaimàṇs came into contact or had political relations early in their history. The internal history of these States is not relevant to this work, but we shall briefly notice here how they came into contact with the Puḍukkóttai State.

The Sétupatis of Ramnad.—

The Sétupatis, (lit. Lords of the 'Bridge', meaning 'Adam's' or 'Ràma's Bridge') were the guardians of the island of Ràmés-varam. Tirumala Nàyak of Madura raised the then Sétupati to the rank of viceroy and chief of the seventy-two poligars.

Pogaḷúr, now a small hamlet near Ramnad, was formerly their capital; but early in the 18th century, the Sétupatis transferred it to Ramnad itself. In 1729-30 Śaśivarma Periya Uḍaiya Tévar who had lost his *pálayam* of Vellikóttai to the Sétupati, defeated the latter at Oriyúr. The Sétupati's territory was parcelled out, three-fifths were left to him, while two-fifths were given to Śaśivarma who assumed the title of Ràja Muttu Vijaya Raghunàtha Periya Uḍaiya Tévar of Śivagaṅga. After the extinction of the Madura Nàyak kingdom, Ramnad was under the suzerainty of the Nawàb of Carnatic till 1792, when the East India Company assumed control over the territory. In 1795, the Sétupati was deposed, and in 1803, his territory became a Zamíndàri.

In the 17th century, the Sétupatis ruled over the southern half of modern Puḍukkóttai. *Kiḷavan Sétupati*, who married a Kaḷḷa bride named Kàttali, gave her brother, Raghunàtha Ràya Tonḍaimàṇ, Puḍukkóttai town and the villages round it.

The Sétupatis' possession of the forts of Tirumayam and Kṣānilai brought them into conflict with the Ràjas of Tanjore and the Tonḍaimàṇ. The story of the acquisition of these forts by the Tonḍaimàṇ is narrated in the next section.

The following are the Sétupatis who ruled during the 17th and 18th centuries.

	A. D.
Saḍaika Tévar	1605-1621*
Kúttan	1621-1635
Saḍaika Tévar or Dalavài Sétupati	1635-1645
Raghunàtha Tévar also called Tirumalai Sétupati.	1645-1672
Súrya Tévar	1672
Raghunàtha Tévar also called Kijavan Sétupati.	1673-1708
Vijaya Raghunàtha Tévar also called Tiruvuḍaiya Sétupati.	1709-1723
Tanḍa Tévar or Sundarésvara Raghunàtha.	1723-1724
Bhavàni Śaṅkar	1724-1728
Kútta Tévar also called Kumàra Muttu Vijaya Raghunàtha.	1728-1734
Muttukumàra Raghunàtha	1734-1747
Rākka Tévar	1747-1748
Śella Tévar or Vijaya Raghunàtha	1748-1760
Mutturàmaliṅga ...	1760-1794

Of the Puḍukkóṭṭai inscriptions† that mention Sétupatis, Nos. 870-872 and 934 (A. D. 1663-1669) are dated in the reign of Tirumalai Sétupati, and 878 in that of Muttu Vijaya Raghunàtha. One of them refers to a royal grant to the Viṣṇu temple at Méluṛ, and the others to grants of villages intended to secure merit for the ruler or to endowments for festivals. It is difficult to fix the date of P. S. I. 901 which is a gift to the mosque known as Kàṭṭubhàvā Pallivāsal. In P. S. I. 1010 there are two Tamil verses recording a grant by a Sétupati to a court poet.

Śivagaṅga Zamindāri.—This dates from the partition of 1729-1730. (see above). Orme refers to Ramnad as the 'Greater Maṛava' and Śivagaṅga as the 'Lesser Maṛava.' The

* The dates are only approximate.

† P. S. I. 870, 872, 878, 901, 934, 964 and 1010.

wars undertaken by the Tonḍaimàns on behalf of the Nawàb of Carnatic against the Śivagaṅga Ràjas are described in the next section.

The following were the Ràjas of Śivagaṅga who ruled during the period of the consolidation of Tonḍaimàn power in the Pudukkóttai State.

	A. D.
1. Śaśivarna Periya Uḍaiya Tévar	1730-1750*
2. Muttuvaḍukanàtha Periya Uḍaiya Tévar.	1750-1772
(Śivagaṅga under the Nawàb	1772-1780)
3. Vēlu Nàcciyàr, widow of No. 2	1780-1790
4. Vellàcci, daughter of No. 2	1790-1793
5. Vaṅgam Periya Uḍaiya Tévar	1793-1801

The last three were rulers only in name; the actual rulers were two adventurers known as *Marudus*.

The Arantangi Tondaimans.—

State inscriptions † refer to a line of Tonḍaimàns who ruled over Arantaṅgi. These records range from A. D. 1426 to about

* These dates are only approximate.

† P. S. I. 728, 750, 784, 794, 820, 823, 844, 845, 849. The chiefs of Arantaṅgi known to us from inscriptions are

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Kulāṣekhara Tonḍaimán (son of Piccar Tonḍaimán). | } A. D. 1426 to 1453.
These were probably brothers. See Nos. 299 of 1914 and 238 of 1930. |
| 2. Sūrya Tévar, -Sundara Pāṇḍya Tonḍaimán. | |
| 3. Malavallaperumál Tonḍaimán. | |
| 4. Aḷagiyamaṇavāla Perumál Tonḍaimán. | |
| 5. Lakkapa Daṇṇáyaka Tonḍaimán or Lakkappa Daṇṇáyaka (son of No. 4) A. D. 1453. | |
| 6. Tirunelvéli Perumál | A. D. 1469. |
| 7. Ékaperumál Tonḍaimán | " 1481 to 1499. |
| 8. Tiruvinaittirrtán Tonḍaimán | " 1497. } |
| 9. Ávṇḍaiyanáyanár Tonḍaimán | " 1499. } Sons of No. 7. |
| 10. Ponnambalanátha Tonḍaimán | .. 1514-69. |
| 11. Varavinóda Tonḍaimán | " 1536. |
| 12. Áṇḍiyappa Aeyutanáyaka Tonḍaimán (son of Tyágaráśar Narasá-náyakar) 1577. | |
| 13. Baghunátha Vaṇaṅgámuḍi Tonḍaimán. | |
| 14. Aruṇácala Vaṇaṅgámuḍi Tonḍaimán (son of No. 13). | |

A. D. 1570. These *Tonḍaimāns* first captured *Paḷaiyūr*, 10 miles to the east of *Pudukkóṭṭai*, and gradually extended their power towards the west.

Kulaśekhara Tonḍaimán issued a proclamation in A. D. 1426 announcing that he would impose no new taxes on the people of *Paḷaiyūr*. *Aḷagiya Maṇaválapperumál Tonḍaimán* in 1453 granted lands tax-free to his son *Lakkana Daṇḍáyaka Tonḍaimán*. *Ella Perumál Tonḍaimán* who called himself *araśu* or ruler of *Arantāṅgi* gave villages in *Vāḷaramānikkam* tract to his two sons *Tiruvinaítirttān* and *Āvuḍaiya Nāyanār* (A. D. 1488 to 1499) and to *Accamariyāta* * *Tévar*.

Perhaps the most powerful of these chiefs was *Ponnambalanátha Tonḍaimán* who is mentioned in State inscriptions of between A. D. 1514 and 1569. He was a charitable ruler, and describes himself as one who knew no fear, as 'the hero that subdued Ceylon in seven days,' and as having given an elephant in return for a lamb. He was a Śivaite, and made grants to the temples at *Péraiṭyūr*, *Tiruvaraṅguḷam*, *Kulamaṅgalam*, and *Tāñjūr* in the State and to *Āvuḍaiyarkóvil* in the Tanjore district. He made a grant to the Viṣṇu temple at *Ponnamarāvati* and called it *Víra Narasiṅga Rāyar's* charity in honour of his overlord the *Vijayanagar* emperor. His son *Varavinóda Tonḍaimán* is also mentioned in inscriptions.

It is believed that the *Zamíndār* of *Pālaiyavanam* in the Tanjore district belongs to this line.

The territory ruled by these chiefs was the bone of contention during a part of the 17th and the 18th centuries between the *Marátha Rājas* of Tanjore, the *Rāja* of *Ramnád* and the *Tonḍaimāns* of *Pudukkóṭṭai*.

Maratha Rajas of Tanjore :—

How *Ēkóji* captured Tanjore and established a *Marátha* dynasty has already been described. We do not know how

* "One who knows no fear."

far the Tanjore territory then extended. The boundary between Tanjore and the kingdom of Madura, wherever it may have been, was frequently raided by the Kallars from the Pudukkóttai territory and the Maravars from Ramnad. About the middle of the 17th century, Raghunàtha Tévar, Ruler of Ramnad, extended his authority to Mannàrguði. During the contest for the succession to the Ramnad chiefship early in the 18th century, the Ràja of Tanjore espoused the cause of Bhavàni Śaṅkara, an illegitimate son of Kīlavan Sétupati, and thus came into conflict with the Toṇḍaimàṇ ruler of Pudukkóttai and the Nàyak ruler of Madura who supported the rival claimant Tanda Tévar. The Tanjore Ràja later aided a confederacy against Bhavàni Śaṅkara, which resulted in the division of the Marava country into three parts. The country north of the Pàmbàr including the eastern and south-eastern parts of Pudukkóttai fell to the share of Tanjore. Some villages near Ēmbal were granted as *Sarvamānyam* by the Tanjore Ràjas. This territory frequently changed hands; the principal actors in this complicated drama were the Ràjas of Tanjore, Ramnad and Pudukkóttai and the Nawàb and the English East India Company who came in later. The complicated transactions which finally resulted in the grant of Kīlānilai to the Toṇḍaimàṇ are summarised in the next section.

Two Zamíndàris which once belonged to the Tanjore kingdom, but were connected with the Pudukkóttai State, may be mentioned here.

Nagaram Zamindárs.—

These chiefs are Valuvàḍis (a socially superior class of Valaiyars*), to whom the zamín was granted as a reward for services rendered to the Tanjore Ràjas. A part of the Zamíndàri now included in the Ālaṅguḍi taluk was added to the Pudukkóttai State about the year 1735.

* See page 106, Vol. I.

Vārāppūr chiefs.—

Towards the close of the 17th or early in the 18th century, Vārāppur was ruled by a family of Vaiṣṇava Brahmins. The zamīn was presented to Jagannātha Ayyaṅgar, the founder of the line, by the Rāja of Tanjore. The Zamīndārī was annexed to Pudukkóttai about 1735 A. D. by Vijaya Raghunātha Tonḍaimān whose men slew Rāghava Ayyaṅgar, the then zamīndār.

Palayams and zamins that originally belonged to the Nayaks of Madura:—

1. *Pérāmbūr and Kaṭṭalūr chiefs.*—The chief of Pérāmbūr and Kaṭṭalūr was one of the seventy-two Poligars created by Visvanātha Nāyak of Madura to guard the bastions of Madura fort. Two State inscriptions (P. S. I. 687 dated 1392 and P. S. I. 695 dated 1403) refer to Narasiṅga Tévar a ruler of Perambūr. The residents of Tiruviḷāṅguḍi granted him *arāṣusuvandiram* or the right of lordship over them. He took the appellation *Aḍaikkalaṅgāttān* meaning 'he who defended those who sought his protection.' Twenty years later his son *Nāmi Tévar* was ruler. *Aḷagiya Maṇavāla Tévar* is the reputed builder of the temple at Virālimalai, where songs in his honour are sung to this day. Virālimalai passed some years later into the hands of the Lakkaya Nāyaks of Kumāravāḍi, and finally in the 18th century to the Tonḍaimāns.

A chief of this country referred to in the letters of the Madura mission as the chief of Kaṇḍalūr* granted the village of Āvūr to the Roman Catholics. The Nāyak ruler of Madura and Trichinopoly ceded this pālayam to the Tonḍaimāns in 1708.

2. *Iluppūr chiefs.*—The Kāmākṣi Nāyaks of Iluppūr belonged to the Toṭṭiyar caste. The pālayam existed in the time of Tirumalai Nāyak, who appointed the then chief as one of the poligars to guard the bastions of the Madura fort. There is a story that the last chief of this line aimed an arrow at a pot

* Kaṇḍalūr is a village just outside the Pudukkóttai boundary.

which a soldier's wife was carrying, but missed the pot and hit the lady instead. This, the story goes, infuriated the soldiers so that they mutinied and destroyed his fort.

The pàlayam fell into the hands of Vijaya Raghunàtha Tonḍaimàn of Puḍukkóṭṭai (1730-69) who gave it to the Begum of the Nawáb Muhammad Āli of Trichinopoly as pin-money.

3. *Kumāravāḍi chiefs*.—In the 17th century Lakkaya Nàyak was one of the poligars appointed by Visvanàtha Nàyak of Madura. The chiefs of his line wrested the Viràlimalai country from the Péràmbúr chiefs and extended the Viràlimalai Śrī Subrahmanya temple. Namana Tonḍaimàn had frequent encounters with the Kumaravāḍi chief and finally annexed Viràlimalai. The disputes between the Tonḍaimàns and the Kumaravāḍi chiefs for the possession of certain territory continued, till the East India Company finally decided them in favour of the Tonḍaimàn and planted in 1804 A. D. boundary stones at Rāśalippaṭṭi* to mark the limits of the Tonḍaimàn territory.

4. *Maruṅgāpuri chiefs*.—These chiefs were more powerful than the Iluppūr or Kumaravāḍi chiefs. A copper-plate grant relating to the Maruṅgāpuri pàlayam traces their history back to the days of the Kàràḷa Veḷḷàlars, and describes the chief as *Araṣukāvalkār* † of Trichinopoly. Púcci ‡ Nàyak of this line was appointed by Visvanàtha Nàyak as one of the seventy-two poligars who garrisoned Madura. P. S. I. 760 dated A. D. 1620 mentions *Virappa Púcci Nàyak*. P. S. I. 875, dated A. D. 1691, mentions *Ovaḷa Púcci Nàyak* also known as *Puliveṭṭi Púcci Nàyak*, brother of *Tirumalai Púccaiya Nàyak*, and his son, *Vira*

* See P. S. I. 884 and 885. The ruler of Kumaravāḍi at the time was Lakkaya Nàyak.

† *Araṣukāvalkār*, as opposed to *Nāḷḷukāvalkār* who was entrusted with police duties in a town or village, performed those duties throughout a province and was invested with administrative powers.

‡ The Telugu pronunciation is *Búcci*.

Púccaiya Nàyak. Ammankuricchi, now in the Pudukkóttai State, was originally the capital of the Púcci Nàyaks, and an inscription mentions that one of them built the temple there. Namana Tonḍaimàn of Kolattúr was directed by the Nàyak of Madura to punish the then Púcci Nàyak of Maruṅgàpuri who had withheld payment of his annual tribute. Namana and his brother Raghunàtha Ràya Tonḍaimàn of Pudukkóttai defeated him and seized Ammankuricchi and the country as far east as Viràchilai. The dispute between Maruṅgàpuri and the Tonḍaimàns for the possession of this territory continued till 1804 A. D. when the East India Company decided that though the lands originally belonged to Maruṅgàpuri, they had so long remained with the Tonḍaimàn that it would be wrong to take them away from him.*

5. *Karisalpaṭṭi-Vàràppúr chiefs.*—A member of the Maruṅgàpuri line formed out of the pàlayam a separate chief-ship, the Karisalpaṭṭi-Vàràppúr pàlayam, which lay to the south-west of the State. The chiefs of this pàlayam were known as Bomma Nàyaks. According to the Rev. W. Taylor the Bomma Nàyaks were descended from an attendant of Visvanàtha Nàyak of Madura. It is recorded in a palm-leaf manuscript in the State that Ponnamaràvati was included in this pàlayam in the 17th century, and that Kijavan Sétupati of Ramnad took it from the Bomma Nàyak. The last Bomma Nàyak rebelled against the English, whereupon a Tonḍaimàn general invested Vàràppúr and finally captured the chief in the forests of Pirànmalai.

6. *The Kaṇḍuvan chief of Seṅgirai.*—Before the founder of the Pudukkóttai Tonḍaimàn line acquired Seṅgirai and the adjoining villages, this neighbourhood was ruled by a chief styled Kaṇḍuvan or more correctly Kaṇḍupókkān.†

* Order of the Governor-in-council, Fort St. George, dated February 15, 1804 communicated to the Collector of Madura.

† A palm-leaf document found by the late Mr. Radhakrishna Aiyar at Munaiandai mentions this chief.

7. *Śuraikkuḍi chiefs*.—Śuraikkuḍi, better known as Vanniyan Śuraikkuḍi since it was the abode of Vanniyaś, seems to have been the chief town of Aḍalaiyūr nāḍu and the headquarters of a line of Tévars. They were originally *Nāḍālvār* or rulers of the nāḍu. P. S. I. 238 (about A. D. 720) records a gift of gold by Parāntaka, an Aḍalaiyūr Nāḍālvār, to the temple at Kuḍumiyāmalai. P. S. I. 124, dated A. D. 1103, records a gift of tax-free land by Aḷagukaṇḍa Perumāl*, another Nāḍālvār of Aḍalaiyūr, to the Viṣṇu temple of Irumbānāḍu for offerings to the idol that he had consecrated. P. S. I. 263 and 264 (A. D. 1222), record that Kandan Aḷuḍaiyār, an Aḍalaiyūr Nāḍālvār, assigned the taxes leviable from a village for the daily offerings to the Goddess of Péraiyyūr.

These *Nāḍālvār* who had previously been feudatories of the Pāṇḍyas rose into importance and power during the Vijayanagar period. *Ponnan Aḷagiya Perumāl* who in P. S. I. 438 (A. D. 1337) figures as a donor to the Neivāśal temple received the *Pādikkāval* rights from the people of Mēlūr. *Periyanāyanār* in A. D. 1380 received the *Pādikkāval* rights from the people of Āḍanūr. This chief used the appellation *Vijayālaya Téva* which became the peculiar title of all the chiefs of the line. *Tirumēni Aḷagiya* or *Śembaka Rāya* is mentioned in P. S. I. 685 (A. D. 1388), 699 (A. D. 1421) and 783 (A. D. 1416). He made gifts to the Viṣṇu temple at Tirumayam, the Śiva temple at Péraiyyūr and that at Parambūr where he had an idol installed.

Ponnāyanār, son of Tirumēni Aḷagiya mentioned above and referred to in P. S. I. 786 (A. D. 1446), may be identified with *Śembaka Ponnāyanār* or *Parākrama Pāṇḍya* in P. S. I. 707 (A. D. 1452) and 792 (A. D. 1452). He made grants of land to a *Bhikṣa Maṭha* at Tékkattūr, to the temple at Neivāśal, to a Brahmin at Āḍanūr and to the Viṣṇu temple at Tirumayam. *Sokkanārayana* mentioned in P. S. I. 461 and 462 (A. D. 1449) made a grant to the Virāchilai temple. He reduced the taxes

* P. S. I. 986, an undated inscription, mentions an Aḷagukaṇḍa Perumāl.

on Virachilai, Kóttaiyúr and other *Paḍaiapparru* villages in recognition of the help that they had rendered him by killing the Pallavarāya of Valuttúr and repulsing his forces when they invaded the Tévar's territory. P. S. I. 462 reproduces the seal of this Vijayālaya Tévar. *Tirumēni Aḷagiya Vira Pāṇḍya* made gifts to the Perumāl temple at Kóttaiyúr and the Tiruvaraṅgulam temple (P. S. I. 798 A. D. 1459 and P. S. I. 712 A. D. 1462). *Avaiyāṇḍār Sundara Pāṇḍya* made an endowment to the Viṣṇu temple at Tirumayam (P. S. I. 800 A. D. 1462).

Paḷḷikonḍa Perumāl is mentioned in P. S. I. 463 and 464 (1498 A. D.) as a donor to the Virachilai temple. His son *Vairava Nāyanar* designated *Aḍaikkalamkāṭṭa Nāḍumadittān* meaning 'He who preserved those who sought his protection and who secured the approbation of all the land' is mentioned in inscriptions * dated between A. D. 1502 and 1532. They refer to his donations to the Virachilai and Maṇiambalam temples and to private individuals. In P. S. I. 734 the chief assumed a *prasasti* meaning "He who saw the backs of eighteen Vaṇṇiyars and mounted his horse while the Pāṇḍya was holding the stirrup." † He gave lands at Kaṇḍiśvaram, near modern Tulaiyānūr, and at Neivāśal to the commanders of his army.

Rāyappa son of *Kāttar Vijayālaya Tévar* is mentioned in P. S. I. 759 (A. D. 1593?). *Sevvappa* ‡ figures in P. S. I. 865 (A. D. 1608) which records a gift to the Neivāśal temple. His son *Acyutappa* is described in P. S. I. 758 (A. D. 1593) as 'having defeated the Gaṅgaiyan, entertained Māvali and mounted his horse while the Pāṇḍya held the stirrup.'

* P. S. I. 720, 727, 730, 731, 732, 734, 742. Some of these refer to the chief as *Vairava Nāyanar* and the others as *Aḍaikkalam kāṭṭu Nāḍu madittān*.

† *Iṛḍukutta miṇḍan Patinēṭṭu Vaṇṇiyarai-mudukuppuram kaṇḍān Pāṇḍyan paḍi amukka pāri ērum mānataran.*

‡ There is a figure, presumably of this chief, carved on a pillar in the front maṇḍapa of the Agastisvara temple at Neivāśal, above which is inscribed, 'a memorial of the perpetual devotion of Sevvappa Vijayalaya Téva' (P. S. I. 1008).

Vengappa, son of *Sevvappa* is mentioned in P. S. I. 743, but the details of the date in the inscription are not correct. *Anḍavan* figures in two anonymous inscriptions (P. S. I. 935 and 936).

These *Tévars* were the vassals at first of the *Pāṇḍyas* and later of *Vijayanagar*. *Śūraikkuḍi* was destroyed by the *Mussalmans* in the 17th century. The northern part of this territory is now included in *Pudukkóttai*.

BĀNAS.

Our knowledge of the history of the *Bānas* is based on inscriptions ranging from the 4th to the 16th centuries. Their first home was the country between the *Pālār* on the south and *Śrīśailam* in the *Kurnool* district on the north, and between *Kólār* in *Mysore* on the west and *Kālahāsti* on the east. They were successively the vassals of the *Kaḍambas*, the *Western Cālukyas* and the *Pallavas*. With the decline of the *Pallava* power, they moved further South. They then became the vassals of the *Cólas*, and often took service as officers in the *Cóla* provinces.

The *Bānas* claimed descent from the demon king *Mahābali* (*Mahāvali*) and his son *Bāna* (*Vāṇa*). Their crest was originally a bull, and their banner bore the emblem of a black-buck, though, as we shall see later, it bore the *garuda* or *Brahminy* kite when they became rulers in the South after the fall of the *Pāṇḍyan* empire.

The *Tékkāttūr* manuscript mentions *Vāṇādirāyan*, *Dharmarāyan*, *Kaṭṭingarāyan* and *Villuvarāyan* as the four subordinate chieftains who settled in *Kāṇāḍu* in the *Pudukkóttai* State. The *Vāṇādirāya* chieftain lived at *Vāṇākóttai*, a corrupted form of 'Vāṇādirāyankóttai', and his brother *Kuṇḍraḍirāyar* at *Kuṇḍrapéttai*, a neighbouring village. The two brothers made grants of several villages. *Vāṇādirāya* employed *Kaṭṭar* chieftains to help him in his struggles against the *Kōṇāḍu Vellālars*. There were frequent sanguinary encounters at different places in the State, and seven petty chieftains of *Kōṇāḍu* were seized and brought before *Vāṇādirāya*.

In the State inscriptions of the reign of Kulóttuṅga III (P. S. I. 163 dated A. D. 1209 and P. S. I. 166 dated 1219) Vāṇādirāyars occur as signatories in documents. *Viramāgadan Rājārājadēvan Ponpaṇṇappinān Magadaipperumāl* mentioned in P. S. I. 675-678 at Kuḍumiyāmalai and Ponnamarāvati—also mentioned as *Magadēśan Vānakullóttaman* in other inscriptions—was a feudatory of Ko-Peruñjiṅgadēva. His name *Rājārājadēvan* shows that he was a subordinate of the Cōla, Rāja Rāja III, son of Kulóttuṅga III. He seems to have held authority over the western and south-western parts of the State including Kuḍumiyāmalai and Ponnamarāvati. Magadai mentioned in his titles has been placed by Mr. Venkayya on the boundary between the Trichinopoly and South Arcot districts.

With the ascendancy of the Pāṇḍya power, the Bāṇas, easily changed their masters and became Pāṇḍya feudatories holding office under them and bearing their names. We hear of a *Sundara Pāṇḍya Vāṇādirāyar* in a Mēlattansaiyam inscription (P. S. I. 624) and a *Vīra Pāṇḍya Vāṇādirāya* in a Virāchilai inscription (P. S. I. 469). A Vāḷaramānikkam inscription of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (acc. 1303) mentions *Aratu Buddhan*, a *Sāmantan* or vassal Vāṇādirāyar (P. S. I. 492). P. S. I. 380 dated 1274 at Idaiyāttūr records that a Māvali Vāṇādirāyan attacked Maravāmadurai, took the men of the village prisoners and drove away their cattle. A Tékkāttūr Vāṇādirāya occurs as a signatory in P. S. I. 459, and a Māvalivāṇādirāya in a Tiruvaraṅgulaṁ inscription (P. S. I. 616). In the reign of Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya there was a Māvali Vāṇādirāya, also called Piḷḷai Kulasékhara, who is known to have been in the Pāṇḍya's service. He may be identified with the Vāṇādirāya who is described as a *Kómuṟṟuvar* or king's representative in a Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription of the reign of the same Pāṇḍya king (P. S. I. 375 dated 1267), and with a Piḷḷai Mābali Vāṇarāyar who was Māravarman Kulasékhara's (acc. 1268) governor of Kōṇāḍu in the Pudukkōṭṭai State.

In the latter half of the 14th century the Pāṇḍya power declined. The Bāṇas then asserted their independence. They helped Kumāra Kampaṇa in the conquest of the territory south of the Kāvéri which had been under the Madura Sultānate, and exerted themselves in keeping the Pāṇḍya power confined to the Tinnevely district. The late Mr. Sewell has noted two Bāṇa chiefs *Sundara-tól-Mahāvali Vāṇādaraya* and *Muttarasa Tirumala Mahāvali Vāṇādaraya* as rulers of Madura in the period 1451-1499 A. D.* Two inscriptions at Śrivilliputtūrt† in the Ramnad district confirm this view, and record that they 'obtained possession of the Pāṇḍya throne in 1453 and 1476.' P. S. I. 671 and 672, however, lead us to believe that there were three Bāṇas during this period. P. S. I. 671, a Śevalūr inscription dated Śāka 1390 or A. D. 1468, mentions a *Tirumāliruṇjōlainiṇṇār Māvalivāṇādarāya*, and P. S. I. 672 at Nekkōṇam, dated Śāka 1405 or A. D. 1483, a *Virapratāpa Sundaratōḷudaiyār Mahāvalivāṇādarāya* who made grants on the occasion of the *nāmākarana*‡ ceremony of his son *Nāyindr Tirumāliruṇjōlainiṇṇār*. Thus it is clear that there were two *Tirumāliruṇjōlainiṇṇārs* or *Tirumalai Vāṇādarāyars* of which the one mentioned in P. S. I. 671 was the grandfather of the child of the same name in P. S. I. 672. In their *prastāvi* occur the terms *Madurāpurimahānāyakan* meaning 'the great lord of the city of Madura', *Valudisēkharan*, 'the wearer of the Pāṇḍya crown' and *Pāṇḍyakulāntakan*, 'the destroyer of the Pāṇḍya race' which imply that these Bāṇas were no vassals. They called themselves also *Mānabhūṣanan* meaning 'one whose ornament is honour', and *Garudakētanān* meaning 'He of the *garuḍa* banner.'§ P. S. I. 715 dated A. D. 1477 in the reign of

* *List of Antiquities* ii, p. 223.

† I. A. XV, p. 73.

‡ Corresponding to christening.

§ P. S. I. 674 is a Tamil verse in praise of the *garuḍa* banner of the Bāṇas. The poet exclaims that when the Bāṇa's *garuḍa* banner was unfurled, the tiger of the Cōla, the carp of the Pāṇḍya and the bow of the Cēra disappeared.

P. S. I. 994 is another Tamil verse in praise of Ādivāṇādarāyar.

Virúpākṣa mentions *Pillai Māvalivāṇadarāya's* sons, but they have not been identified.

A few inscriptions of the 16th century in the Madura district refer to a *Mahābali Vāṇadarāya Nāyaka* and *Sundaratōḷudaiyār*. A Māvali Vāṇadarāya of Neḍuvāsal is mentioned in two undated inscriptions in the State, P. S. I. 942 at Ambukkóvil, and P. S. I. 1084, an anonymous inscription at Kīḷaikkurichi stating that the inhabitants of the village deprived him of his lands for acting contrary to the wishes of Pillai Pallavarāyar. If the latter was the Pillai Pallavarāyar who is mentioned in a Koḷattūr inscription, the date of this Māvali Vāṇadarāyar would be about A. D. 1470.

The *Dharmarāyar* mentioned in the Tékkattūr manuscript was perhaps connected with the Dharmarāyars of Séndavanmaṅgalam. We hear of the following Dharmarāyars in State inscriptions:—

Alkoṇḍadéva Dharmarāyan (A. D. 1299 to 1300)—P. S. I. 407, 410 and 411.

Mudaliyaṇḍār Aḷagiyatiruccirrambamudaiyār, also called Parākrama Paṇḍya Dharmarāyan (1366)—P. S. I. 456 and 457.

Tiruveṅgaḍamudaiyār or Śrīraṅganātha, and his three sons Iraṅgālamittā Perumāl, Āvuḍaiya Nāyanār and Paṇḍi Perumāl (A. D. 1488 to 1492)—P. S. I. 822, 824 and 827.

Their charities are associated chiefly with Kāramaṅgalam and Tāñjūr.

The *Gāngaiyarāyas** are believed to have been a line of Vellāla chieftains of Niyaman near Kāraikkūḍi and of Pilla-maṅgalam. It is impossible to draw up their pedigree since they are referred to in inscriptions generally as Gāngaiyarāyars without their proper names.

* See P. S. I. 247, 249, 251, 253, 254, 255, 257, 277, 292, 293, 305, 311, 316, 317, 318, 321, 328, 329, 354, 385, 386, 424, 468, 486, 496, 506, 517, 521, 715.

PALLAVARÁYARS.

Like the Kāḍavarāyars,* the Pallavarāyars claimed descent from the ancient Pallavas. This claim is borne out by tradition and literary evidence. Two Tamil works *Seventajunia Pallavar Piḷḷai Tamiḷ* and *Seventajunia Pallavan ulā* give a pedigree of Pallavarāya chiefs. The *Uḷā* list mentions a Pallava 'who rode a courageous charger, won the title of *Rāyar* and became *Pallavarāyar*.'

From these Tamil works we learn that the Pallavarāyars originally lived at Mallai, Mallāpuram or Mahābalipuram usually known as Seven Pagodas in the Chingleput District. One of them, Veṅkatācaḷa † Pallavarāyan, was appealed to for help by a Pāṇḍya, who had been attacked by a Cōḷa king. He defeated the latter, and was appointed governor of Kēralasiṅgavaḷanāḍu near the southern border of the State. Another was born in and settled at Kōḷippati, by which name Perungaḷūr near Vaittūr is evidently meant, since Perungaḷūr is called 'Kōḷi' in inscriptions. The Pallavarāyars subdued the eighteen Vaṇṇiyar castes, destroyed Alumbil, the modern Ambukkōvil in the Pudukkōttai State won battles at Kaḍaran and Sūraikkūḍi in the Ramnad district and at Kalabham in the Tanjore district. Vaḷuttūr (Vaittūr) which is described as a fertile wet-land village in Kōnāḍu was then under the sway of the Pallavarāyars called Kōnādars.

They helped both the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas. One of them married a Cōḷa princess. Their throne was a six-footed stool, their flag bore both the tiger and the fish (the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍyan

* Prof. Sastri: *Cōḷas* Vol. II, p. 159. *Tonḍaimān, Kāḍavarān, Pallavarāyan, Kāḍuvēḷḷi*, etc., are Pallava titles still borne by Kallars in the State.

† The accuracy of the pedigree is open to doubt and several names are merely periphrastic expressions. The connection of the Pallavarāyars with the Pallavas is not conceded by some historians. The question bristles with difficulty.

‡ A certain Tonḍaimān Cakravarti came with this Pallavarāya and settled down at Ambukkōvil.

emblems), and they wore garlands of the blue lily, the symbol of the Vellālas, because a Pallavarāya had married a Vellāla Maḷavarāya princess, *agatti*, (Sesbania), the Cōla symbol, and margosa, the Pāṇḍya symbol.

The earliest Pallavarāya mentioned in an inscription belonged to the reign of Māran Saḍayan in the eighth century A. D. The earliest mentioned in State inscriptions is Avantiya Gōpa Pallavarāyar also called Mayilai Tiṇḍan of Pudukkuḍi in the Urattūr Kūrṇam (P. S. I. 70 dated A. D. 989).^{*} A chief of Tuñjalūr, Mīlilaikūrṇam, and Mūvenda Pallavarāyar also called Adittan Piḍāran of Kūhūr near Kunnāndārkōvil are mentioned in old records.

Several Pallavarāyas bore Cōla and Pāṇḍya names, indicating their subordination to them or their position as Cōla and Pāṇḍya officers.† In the war of the Pāṇḍya succession in the 12th century, Anṇan Pallavarāya led the Cōla army (see page 611). A Tamil poem ‡ states that they exercised authority as *Araiyars* or chiefs over Ālanguḍi Nāḍu, Amarāvati (Ponnamarāvati) Nāḍu, Kaḍuvankuḍi Nāḍu (country round

^{*} Cf. A. B. E. 878 of 1908 and 880 of 1908. He was a contemporary of Parāntaka I.

† Vikrama Cōla Pallavadaraiyan (P. S. I. 121-1088 A. D.), Eḍirillecōla Pallavadaraiyan (P. S. I. 158-1201 A. D.), Śembiyan Pallavadaraiyan (P. S. I. 155-1202 A. D.), Vīra Cōla Pallavadaraiyan (P. S. I. 210—reign of an unidentified Rājadhīrāja), Valavan Pallavadaraiyan (P. S. I. 367-1266 A. D.), Kulōttuṅga Pallavadaraiyan (P. S. I. 374-375-1268 A. D. and 388-1271 A. D.), Jayanṅṇḍa Cōla Pallavadaraiyan (P. S. I. 371-1266 A. D.), and Sundara Pāṇḍi Pallavarāya and Vikrama Pāṇḍi Pallavarāya (P. S. I. 406-1294 A. D.).

Several Pallavarāyas are mentioned as signatories in inscriptions. (See P. S. I. 181, 254, 334, 354, 355, 369, 409 and 424).

‡ குங்குபு எட்டமரபுரை
செங்குங்குபுரை—மெரை
செங்குங்கு எட்டு திருப்பெருந்துறை
மகார சைவர எட்டு—செங்குங்கு
மெய்யமலை மெய்யசைவர எ
மடபுர செங்குங்குபுரை எட்டு—செங்குங்கு
செங்குங்குபுரை செங்குங்குபுரை
செங்குங்குபுரை எட்டு—செங்குங்கு

Virālimalai), Śeṅkāṭṭu Nāḍu, Péraiyūr Nāḍu, Valnāḍu, Meyyamalai (Tirumayam), Candrarékhā Nāḍu* (the Ambuliyār basin?), Koḍuṅkuṇṇa Nāḍu (Pirāṇmalai), Tirukkóḷakkuḍi Nāḍu and Kónāḍu.

Documents in the State relating to the times of the Kārālars mention Śeventeḷunta Pallavarāya, Kuḷandai Pallavarāya and Vaṇaṅgamuḍi Pallavarāya.

The Peruṅgaḷūr (Vaittūr) Pallavarāyars.

The following are the chiefs of this line mentioned in the State inscriptions.

1. Tennattiriyan Piḷḷai Pallavarāya. (P. S. I. 476 A. D. 1312).
2. A chief of this line who invaded Vīráchilai, but was slain by the soldiers of a Vijayālaya Tévan. (P. S. I. 462 A. D. 1449).
3. Śrīraṅga Pallavarāyar. (P. S. I. 711 A. D. 1462).
4. Viḷitturaṅgum Perumāḷ Pallavarāyar, A. D. 1387 or 1481.
5. Maḷittān Pallavarāyar, (in the reign of an unidentified Māravarman Kulasékhara).
6. Miḷecar or Piḷḷai Pallavarāyar, (in the reign of an unidentified Kulasékhara—1466 ?)
7. Viḷitturaṅgum Perumāḷ Pallavarāyar. (P. S. I. 713-714—A. D. 1476 and 1480). Probably identical with No. 4.
8. Tiruvineittīrttān also called Vīra Narasiṅga Nāyaka Pallavarāya. (P. S. I. 726 A. D. 1510).
9. Kaḍuga Nalla Perumāḷ Pallavarāyar. (A. D. 1526 ?)
10. Śeventeḷunta Tirumalairāya Pallavarāyar, son of Kónérirāya Pallavarāyar. (P. S. I. 752 A. D. 1540). He was rewarded for services rendered to Irappa Nāyak Ayyan, the representative of Visvanātha Nāyak of Madura, with lands which he later endowed to the temple at Tiruvaraṅguḷam.
11. Accuta Pallavarāya. (A. D. 1588 ? and 1615).
12. Ávuḍaiya Nāyanār Pallavarāya. (P. S. I. 864 and 945—A. D. 1607).
13. Mallappa Pallavarāya. (P. S. I. 866 and 926—A. D. 1616).
14. Mallappa Pallavarāyar and Śeventeḷunta Pallavarāyar. (P. S. I. 968 A. D. 1621 ?)

* Candrarékhā is the old name for Śendalai in the Tanjore district. The Nāḍu here may be either Śendalai or the Ambuliyār basin. (*Ambuli* and the Sānskrit word *Candra*, both mean moon).

These Pallavaràyers gradually extended their territory and power until they had made themselves masters of all the country from Ādanakkōṭṭai to Kavināḍ and from Kuḷavàippaṭṭi to Kuḍumiyāmalai. The last two members of this line assumed the title of *king*, the words used in inscriptions being *Rājyampanni-arulukaiyil*.

The last ruler of the line was *Seventelunta Pallavarāyar*. How and when his power passed into the hands of the Tonḍaimān line will be mentioned in the next section.

Seventelunta Pallavarāyar was a Śaivite and devotee of the temples at Tirugókarnam, Kuḍumiyāmalai, Péraiyr, Tiruvaraṅgulam and Conjeevaram. He is said to have presented jewels and lamps to the temple at Tirugókarnam and to have added to the temple at Kuḍumiyāmalai, *gōpurams*, *maṇṭapams*, halls, flower-gardens, groves, etc., and built cars for it.

The name of the Pallavarāyers of Vaittūr is preserved in the *Pallavan tank* in the Puḍukkōṭṭai town, and in a measure of capacity known as *Pallavanpaḍi*, which was in general use in Kārālar days and is still used in the distribution of rice during the annual Dassara festival. There are traces of their ruined fortress at Vaittūr, and there are also *Pallavan tanks* at Péraiyr and Vilattuppaṭṭi. The villages of Pāppānyayal near Perungalūr—otherwise known as *Seventeluntapuram*, *Sēndamaṅgalam*, *Paḷiñji* and *Śivapuram* are said to have been granted by the rulers of this line to Brahmins.

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE, (14TH-17TH CENTURIES).

Much of what has been said under this heading in the last section applies equally to the present period. Some features peculiar to the latter are mentioned below.

The Central Government:—

The Emperor at Vijayanagar and the Nāyak king at Madura were absolute rulers untrammelled by any popular assembly, though their powers were restricted to some extent by the *Dharma śāstra* or the Hindu codes, and by public opinion,

As Mr. J. H. Nelson remarks,* there were "many things which they durst not attempt to do, and there existed a well-defined public opinion which it was never quite safe for them to insult." Another check on grave misrule was the fear of wholesale migrations of the oppressed.

We shall not expatiate upon the functions of the ministers at the imperial court at Vijayanagar, except in so far as they are referred to in State inscriptions which relate mainly to the Náyak administration at Madura. As the principal officer of the kingdom, the *Dalavái* exercised large influence and wielded very great power. He combined in himself the functions of the chief minister and generalissimo—an arrangement appropriate to the chaotic condition of a country torn by feuds among turbulent chiefs. The Dalaváis were so powerful, that one of them was incorrectly referred to in Jesuit letters as the Prince-Regent. State inscriptions record gifts made by Dalaváis and by others on their behalf. The designation of the finance minister was *Pradháni*, and that of the royal secretary, *Ráyasam*, a term that persisted in the State till late in the 19th century under the Tondaimáns, while the head of the audit and accounts department was the *kanakkan*.

Though the Vijayanagar emperors and the Náyak kings of Madura carried on the administration with the assistance of ministers, they retained in their own hands the power to shape the general policy of the administration, so that the welfare of the people largely depended on the character of the king. Many of the ministers alike at Vijayanagar and at Madura were Brahmins.

The Army.—

The country was organised on a military basis as a precaution against the attacks of the Muslims. As Prof. Venkataramanayya observes,† the defence of the country

* The Madura Country—Part III, p. 144.

† *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, p. 120.

depended in the first place, upon a series of forts constructed at points of strategic importance, and secondly, upon the maintenance of a well-organised and efficient army. The forts were mostly of mud though some were built of stone. Besides the cantonments and fortifications in the State mentioned in the last section, we hear in this period of a fort at Kàraiyr * and the Páram fort of the Kaṇḍuvans on the edge of Śeṅgiral forest between Miraṭṭunilai and Arimalam.

The forces maintained in the State do not seem to have formed part of the regular armies of the emperor or the king at Madura, but were levies maintained by local chieftains from whom they received pay and equipage. Mercenaries were commonly employed. The soldiers were largely recruited from the Kaikkólar, Maṇava and Kaḷḷa communities.

Provinces.—

The old Cōla and Pāṇḍya territorial subdivisions—*kóṭṭam*, *nádu*, *vaḷandú* and *maṇḍalam*, survived in the State till very late in this period. State inscriptions also mention territorial divisions with the nomenclature usual in the Kanarese and Telugu provinces of the Vijayanagar empire, for example, the *Śimai*,† a smaller division than the *nádu*. Groups of hamlets were known as *parru*,‡ The village was variously called *grá-mam*, *maṇḍalam*, *saṃudram*, *kuḍi*, *úr*, *puram*, *kuḷam*, *kuṛicci*, *paṭṭi*, *vayal*, etc.

The provincial governor was designated *Dannādik* (*Daṇḍa-ndyaka*). The governors of the Vijayanagar empire did not reside in their provinces, but functioned through a local agent known as *Kāryakarta*. We have mentioned on page 710 above a

* P. S. I. 816.

† E. g. Nagarattármalai Śimai (P. S. I. 922) and Neḍuvátal Śimai (P. S. I. 949).

‡ E. g. Ponnamarávatī nádu vaḍaparru (north division P. S. I. 833), Ponnamarávatī nádu tenparru (south division P. S. I. 841), Mūnrukóṭṭal parru, P. S. I. 827, Kulamaṅgala nádu vaḍaparru P. S. I. 828.

karyakarta of Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala. Under the Nāyaks, there was a governor at Trichinopoly * when the seat of government was at Madura, and a large part of the State was under his administration. The governor had control over the *pālaiyams* situated within his administrative area.

The village administration.—

After the 15th century, the *ūr* or village assembly did not function as of old. The few survivals occasionally mentioned in inscriptions were but atrophied specimens. The *Sabha* or assembly in Brahmin villages survived a little longer. As long as they functioned, joint sessions of the different assemblies were often held. P. S. I. 690, dated A. D. 1405, records a joint session of the *ūr* of Kíranur and the trustees of the temple there, and P. S. I. 694, dated A. D. 1404, of the *nādu* of Kúlaikolattúr and the *ūr* of Kúlaipuduvayal. Later inscriptions of the 16th century, for example P. S. I. 833, 834 and 972, refer to meetings of the temple authorities, leaders of castes and communities, and representatives of villages or towns; but not to the *ūr*, *sabha* or *nādu*.

The decline of the assemblies was due to the unsettled political conditions of the period, when there was no security of life or property. Inhabitants of villages finding that they were unable to protect themselves from the aggressions of their neighbours, sold the *pāḍikkāval* † to influential chieftains in the neighbourhood. *Pāḍikkāval* deeds, termed *arāṣuvātantiraṇa*, assigned to such chieftains royal functions and duties, investing them with powers of taxation and imposing the obligation to protect the people, their life, property and crops. In an age when the power of the central authority was hardly felt, the

* Trichinopoly was the capital of some of the Nāyak rulers. The seat of government was frequently changed from Madura to Trichinopoly and vice

† The *Araiyar* or person who received *pāḍikkāval* rights executed a deed called an *āṣiriyapramāṇam* promising to protect the people (e. g., P. S. I. 693, 696 and 704). See also P. S. I. 681, 751, 799, 843, 898.

chieftains became increasingly independent, waged war on each other and often oppressed the people. These chieftains designated *araiyar*, *arāṣu* or *nāḍālvār* are frequently mentioned in State inscriptions of the 10th or 11th century. Every *nāḍu* or important village had its Araiya. Some villages, for example Kalasamaṅgalam, had two. We have very little information about the *Araiya** that exercised power in the Puḍukkóṭṭai territory.

Revenue, Taxation, etc.—

The service and eleemosynary tenures enumerated on pages 660–2 still survived. Military necessities and the political conditions of the period necessitated large grants of land called *amarams*† to feudal chieftains or military retainers. We hear in this period of another service tenure, the *Umbaḷi*, which, according to Wilson,‡ means 'land granted by the government rent-free as a reward for, or in consideration of, public services.' The grant was made either as reward for public services already rendered or on condition of performing them.

To the eleemosynary grants noted on page 661, we have to add *sarvamānya* grants,§ the holders of which were under no obligation of any kind and enjoyed the lands granted to them free of tax, while the holders of *Brahmadēyam*, *Dēvadānam* and *maḍappuram* lands had to pay a low quit-rent.

A class of temple servants frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of this period are the *Dēvaraḍimaikal*, now called *Devadāsīs*. They enjoyed liberal grants.||

* Araiya of Karukkākurichi, of Ālaṅguḍi Nāḍu and of the five families of Ambukkóvil, the Kaḍambarāyaṅs, Kiḍāratṭaraiyaṅs, and Kulóttuṅga Cōḷattaraiyaṅs were among the most influential.

† See pp. 331–333. (Vol. I)

‡ H. H. Wilson. *Glossary of Judicial and Administrative Terms*.

§ P. S. I. 791.

|| P. S. I. 710, 718, 814, 817, 825, etc.

The village communities paid to the Araiyaṛs to whom they sold *pāḍikkāvaḷ* rights a share of the produce of the land. On pages 328 and 329 (Volume I), is given a table showing such shares. It relates to A. D. 1380. The privileges of an Araiyaṛ in A. D. 1477* were as follows.—He received 12 *ari* and one *paḍukku* of paddy for every *ma* of land and enjoyed a share in the quit-rents leviable from temples and special rights over tanks. He was entitled to gifts in kind such as a cage of hares from the Valaiyaṛs, milk and ghee from shepherds and two fowls from the Paḷḷaṛs and Paraiaṛs. Flags and torches were borne before him even in the day-time, conches were blown as he mounted or dismounted from his horse or vehicle, and he appended a long-winded *praśasti* to his name. The fees in kind originally paid to the Araiyaṛs for their police duties became later *araśu svāntāṭṭirāṃ* or royal tax. The Araiyaṛs did not scruple to misappropriate lands granted as charitable endowments, and share the produce with the cultivators. This system of produce-sharing marks the transition to the *amāni* tenure which prevailed under the Tondaimāns until it was abolished in the 19th century.

Taxation.—

Inscriptions† of this period mention many of the cesses and taxes noticed on pages 663–6 above. Two inscriptions in particular give us an idea of the *mēlvāram* rates prevailing in the 15th century. A Neivāśal inscription (P. S. I. 819 dated A. D. 1481) fixes the following rate—one-third of the winter *kuṛuvai* produce, one-fourth for sesamum, ragi, horse-gram, and green-gram, and one-sixth for millet, *śāmai* (*Panicum miliare*) and other dry crops. A Virāchilai inscription (P. S. I. 70 dated A. D. 1443) fixes one-fifth for dry crops, and half for *varagu* (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*), *tinaḷ* (*Setaria italica*) and sesamum.

* P. S. I. 715.

† E. g. P. S. I. 953.

Since the village assemblies no longer functioned effectively, the chiefs appointed officers in villages to collect the taxes. We therefore hear of the *Ambalagāran** and *manigār*, in the days of Nāyak rule.

That the taxes were oppressive is evident from inscriptions which record the emigration of people from the State to other parts of South India.

Justice.—

The Emperor was the fountain-head of justice. In the provinces, the governors exercised the royal prerogative. The court of law was designated the *Dharmāsanaṃ* or the seat of Justice, or simply the *Sabha*, which was either *mukhya* (permanent) or *amukhya* (temporary). When the king or governor presided over a court, it was said to be *sastrita*, and when presided over by a judge *mudrita*. The *prādvivāka* was the chief judge and his colleagues were known as *sabhyas* or councillors.† The courts usually met in a temple since it was supposed that witnesses would not perjure themselves in the house of God.

The chieftains administered criminal and civil justice in their territories. After the decay of the local assemblies, the temple trustees exercised some sort of judicial authority. They tried petty criminal offences, but their jurisdiction appears to have been confined to the temple servants.‡

The Vijayanagar system of judicial administration survived with slight modifications under the Tondaimāns during the first half of the nineteenth century.

* *Ambalagāran* is used as a title by Kallars and Valaiyars. Here it means 'headman of a village.'

† These terms survived in the State into the 19th century.

‡ M. E. R. 185 of 1894; S. I. I. V. 479 noticed by Dr. Venkataramanayya. *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 275.

We know little of the procedure adopted in these courts. A few inscriptions throw some light on the nature of the trial and of the punishments awarded. A servant of the temple at Kuḍumiyāmalai stole the necklace of the goddess and sold it. When the guilt was brought home to him one of his hands was ordered to be chopped off, his lands were forfeited and he was banished from the village.* In direct contrast to the severity of this punishment was the sentence in another case. Three persons with the help of the men of a certain Maḷavarāyar were convicted by a joint session of the assemblies of five villages of rioting and murder, but were only sentenced to give one *ma* of land each to the temple!†. There was a dispute at Mélat-tanaiyam between the Paḷlars and the Paraiyars. Vīrasinnu Nāyak who decided the dispute required the parties to dip their hands in boiling ghee which they did. It is said that the Paḷlars were unscathed.‡ A native of Peruṅgaḷūr gave his land to another as compensation for falsely incriminating him in a case before the royal court.§

Inscriptions of the period frequently refer to disputes being settled without going to court. The following are examples— a dispute between the Maṇavars of the northern division of Kulamaṅgala nāḍu recorded in P. S. I. 828, another between the potters of Kóṭṭaiyūr mentioned in P. S. I. 915, a third between barbers at Kóvilūr mentioned in P. S. I. 921, a temple dispute between the residents of Panaiyūr and those of Kulamaṅgalam settled by a joint assembly of the representatives of these two villages and the adjoining villages (P. S. I. 944) and finally a dispute between two communities of Śevalur referred to in P. S. I. 815.

* P. S. I. 867 dated A. D. 1617.

† P. S. I. 818 (A. D. 1480).

‡ P. S. I. 929.

§ P. S. I. 922.

There are references in inscriptions to treaties of peace concluded by Araiyars* and also by villages†, and to resolutions of *Sabhās* regarding the nature of punishment to be inflicted on offenders‡. The asceties of the seventy *maṭhas* of Pulvayal agreed that they themselves with the help of the temple officers would settle all disputes that might arise among them irrespective of the sex of the disputants.§

Society.—

The Brahmins did not apply themselves exclusively to the study of the scriptures. They served the State as statesmen and Dalavāis. Góvinda Dīkṣita was a minister in the court of Tanjore, and Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, in the court of Madura. Both were famous as statesmen and scholars. The services of learned Brahmins were frequently utilised in the administration of justice. The 'councillors' in the law courts were mostly Brahmins.

Jesuit letters of the period frequently refer to the depredations of the Kaḷḷars and Maṇavars. The Kaḷḷars were distributed into different clans. The chiefs who were the leaders in war, gradually acquired 'personal estates' as distinct from any sort of public revenue, and assumed kingship over the clans. These clans formed a sort of independent and self-governing confederation, knit together by community of caste and common interest. The confederation acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rāja of Madura or, more immediately, his governor at Trichinopoly. The services of the Kaḷḷars were very valuable to the Nāyak kings, "for it was well-known to every one that the Mussalman besiegers of Trichinopoly dreaded much more the sudden night attacks of the Kaḷḷars than the broad daylight

* Eg. P. S. I. 683 (Kóvilūr).

† P. S. I. 697, Tiruvaraṅgulam, 698 (Maṇattukkóvil), 815 (Púvālaikuḍi), 922 (Nárttámalai) and 940 (Rāṅgiyam).

‡ P. S. I. 913, (Rāṅgiyam).

§ P. S. I. 932.

sorties of the garrison."* The Kallars living within the State were a source of frequent trouble to the rulers of Tanjore.

There came in the wake of the Vijayanagar governors and generals, a number of Telugu and Kanarese castes, whose descendants are still to be found in the State. Among the Telugu Brahmins were the *Niyógis* who came as civil or military officers and the *Vaidiks* who were mostly Puróhits. The *Rázus*† by which term the *Kápu*, *Kamma* and *Vélama* castes are designated, and the *Balijas*, locally known as *Vadugans*, were the military castes that followed the Vijayanagar governors. The latter are now agriculturists. The *Gázulukápus*, a subdivision of the *Balijas*, settled at Vaittúr and other places in the Kolattúr Taluk as bangle-makers. The Náyaks of Madura imported a large number of *Patnúlkaras* into the South. The *Jettis* who were wrestlers when first they came South, the *Ođđas* from the Telugu country and the *Tođđiyans* also settled in the State during this period. The *Bhatrázus* who were Telugu bards, and Telugu horsemen designated *Ráhutta* (now corrupted into *Roroth*) found service under local chieftains in the State.

In the Tamil districts the *Śúdras*, in which category were included people following diverse professions and crafts, were divided into two factions, the right hand (*Valaṅgai*) and the left hand (*Idaṅgai*) castes. They quarrelled so often and so bitterly that the Government frequently had to intervene to restore order. P. S. I. 815, dated A. D. 1476, refers to the settlement of a serious dispute attended with bloodshed between these sects at Śevalur.

Depopulation.—

The confusion that followed the invasion of Málikkāfur, and the anarchy that prevailed in the State when Madura was under Muslim rule led to emigration on a large scale. A Rāṅgiyam

* Annual letter of the Madura Mission for 1663-66.

† A family of Rázus from Owk who settled in Pudukkóttai distinguished themselves in the service of the Tođđaimáns.

inscription * says that people ran away from the village, and an Ādanūr inscription tells of the wholesale ruin of villages. The subsequent invasions of the Bījapur forces made matters worse. Since the control of the central government was no longer effective, lawless bands of Kallars and even chieftains and Araiyaṛs who were responsible for the policing of the villages, as for instance, † at Panaiyūr, Virāchilai, Puvālaikkudi, Kīranūr, Tiruvaraṅgulaṁ, Kōvilur and Siṅgamaṅgalaṁ, committed riots, arson and plunder. Inability to pay the numerous and oppressive taxes was another reason for the depopulation of the villages. Several families of Puvālaikkudi ‡ sold their lands and left the village in A. D. 1532. The same thing happened at Madiyaṇi in 1512. To add to the distress, famines of great severity visited the land. P. S. I. 801, dated A. D. 1465, records a famine in Mēlūr. An inscription at Ponnamarāvati, dated A. D. 1453, relates how dancing-girls driven from their homes by successive famines in 1436, 1450 and 1451 came there and accepted temple service. The letters of the Madura mission give harrowing details of the suffering caused by the famines of the 17th and 18th centuries. There was a severe famine in 1655. The letters of the Madura mission draw a vivid picture of the famine of 1708—1709 “the like of which the oldest among the living has never witnessed. The poor inhabitants being reduced to the last extremity, we see parents selling their children for a petty price and likewise husbands bargaining away their wives. Many villages are entirely deserted without even one inhabitant left in them; everywhere along the roads and in the fields heaped up corpses, or rather bleached bones, are left unburied.not more than one-thirtieth of the population seems to have been left alive.”

Nārttāmalai, Kuḍumiyāmalai and Koḍumbāḷūr, all centres of trade and places of pilgrimage with important temples which for

* P. S. I. 940.

† P. S. I. 682, 697, 698, 799, 815, 828, 898, 913, 915, 921, etc.

‡ P. S. I. 748.

centuries enjoyed munificent grants, are now petty villages. Maḍattukkóvil, Śirusaṇai, Tiruviḷaṅguḍi and Kaṇḍisvaramuḍaiyār Kóvil are but a few examples of temples which were once prosperous, but are now deserted and ruined. Many other places which were once flourishing and populous are now insignificant hamlets or are altogether uninhabited. In this general decay, *maṅgalams* or Brahmin villages seem to have suffered most, since in the 18th century the Toṇḍaimàns had to induce Brahmin families to settle in the State by granting them rent-free villages.

Trade.—

The Vijayanagar empire in the hey-day of its power fostered both foreign and internal trade. The Nàyaks, on the other hand, "did not give sufficient encouragement to commerce; their naval deficiency was a hindrance to foreign trade; and it even shaped their attitude towards, and lowered them in the estimation of the Portuguese and the Dutch. The people had only a few wants, which were mostly supplied by the country"*. The *Aiññūrruvar* corporation described in the last section appears to have ceased to function. The export and import trade was in the hands of the Dutch and Portuguese. Dr. Venkataramanayya † in describing the merchant guilds of the Tuluva period of Vijayanagar rule states that "most of the internal trade of the country passed through their hands, and their activities seem to have extended all over the empire." It was possible that the State shared in their activities, but there is no direct evidence of this in the inscriptions.

Weaving seems to have flourished. There are references in State inscriptions to taxes on looms. The Nàyaks encouraged this industry throughout their kingdom.

One of the arteries of trade, the chief pilgrim route of South India—the trunk-road to Ramesvaram—passed through the State.

* Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar: *History of the Nàyaks of Madura*, p. 254.

† *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 308.

The coins * mentioned in inscriptions of this period are the *Vālāḷvaḷitirantāṇpaṇam*, *sakkarampaṇam*, *Adūrpaṇam*, and *ṣirriṣaipāṇam*.

Religion.—

In this period the State came under the influence of the same religious movements as the Vijayanagar empire of which it was a part. The influx of Telugus and Kanarese into the State in the wake of Vijayanagar administrators and soldiers brought it into live contact with the religious life of the empire which will be very briefly described here.

The early Saṅgama emperors were *Advaitins*—followers of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya. The Ṣṛṅgēri *maṭha*, the principal *maṭha* established by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, grew in prestige and influence and established many branches. Another important *maṭha* of Śrī Śaṅkara was at Conjeevaram, whence it was later transferred to Kumbakōṇam. The head of this *maṭha* is the *guru* of the Tondaimān rulers. Later Vijayanagar emperors were Vaiṣṇavas, but they encouraged Śaivism also. The Nāyak kings of Madura were worshippers of both Śiva and Viṣṇu. Vaiṣṇavites were of two groups, the followers of Śrī Rāmānuja and those of Madhva.

The religious life of the period was largely moulded by great scholars and philosophers such as Śrī Vidyāranya, and Appayya Dīkṣita among Advaitins, Śrī Védānta Désika and Tātācārya among the followers of Rāmānuja, and Vyāsātīrtha among those of Madhva. Their work and teachings influenced the religious beliefs of the people of the State as they did those of the inhabitants of other parts of the Tamil country.

The Maṭhas.—

In the propagation of religion, the part played by the *maṭhas* was of great importance. The Vaiṣṇavas of the State belonging to the *Vaḍakalai* sect received spiritual ministration

* See pp. 228, (Vol. I).

either from the Svàmis of the Ahóbilam *maṭha* founded by Van-Śaṭhakópaiyār or from members of influential Vaiṣṇava families, and those of the Teṅgalai sect from the *maṭhas* at Śrīrangam or at Vānamāmalai in the Tinnevely district. The Madhvas in the State were attached to the *maṭhas* at Udipi, Mulbagal and Vijayanagar.

As we have noticed in the last section* there were branches in the State of the Śaiva *maṭhas* of the Pāsupata school, especially of the Bhikṣāvṛtti, Mallikārjunīya and Gólaki establishments. P. S. I. 707, dated A. D. 1453, records a grant of land to Tiruppunaṭṭāsal Mudaliyār Paramaśivar of the Bhikṣāvṛtti *maṭha* at Tékkàṭṭūr. This extreme form of Śaivism was fast losing its influence; *maṭhas* of the more humane form of the sect were coming into prominence, among which we may believe, were the *maṭha* in the South street at Tiruvaraṅgulam (P. S. I. 746), that at Ammankurichi endowed for Jñānaprakāsa Paṇḍāram (P. S. I. 955) and one at Śeranūr (P. S. I. 980). The people of Tirumanañjéri, and four other nāḍus, are stated to have built a *maṭha* at Chidambaram (P. S. I. 952). It is not clear what connection these *maṭhas* in the State had with the important *maṭhas* at Dharmapuram, Tiruppaṇḍāl and Tiruvāḍuturai in the Tanjore district.

The temple.—

We have not much to add to what we have said about temples in the last section. *Prākārams* and *maṇḍapams* were added to the temples. The installation of a number of minor deities, and the elaboration of festivals necessitated the building of more halls and sanctuaries. Festivals were very popular, and chiefs, merchants and citizens made special endowments for them. There are frequent references to the institution of car-festivals and special festivals in which the principal idols were placed on a raft and punted round a tank, or decorated and placed in a swing or carried in palanquins. Every possible device was

* See pages 685—686 above.

adopted to make these festivals attractive. Donors to temples received special honours. P. S. I. 737 records that the Vellalars of Tiruvaraṅgulam agreed among themselves to render free service to the temple to ward off the influence of malefic planets. The popular belief was that dangers and misfortunes could be averted by instituting special festivals or special services in temples.

Jainism.—

Jainism seems to have ceased to exercise any hold upon the people of the State during this period.

Christianity.—

During this period Christianity was introduced into the State. The first missionary to establish himself at Madura was Fr. Gonzalo Fernandez (1596), but the real founder of the Madura mission was the Jesuit Father, Roberto De Nobili (1606–1610). Fr. Nobili extended the jurisdiction of the mission in South India, so that it soon included Trichinopoly which became an important centre of their activities. Since Trichinopoly was exposed to frequent sieges and was the scene of many engagements in the 17th century, the missionary there sought a quieter place in which to carry on his activities. The village of Āvūr was granted to him by the chieftain of Pérāmbūr–Kattalūr, referred to in Mission records as Kaṇḍelūr. Āvūr, the first place in the State to be occupied by the Jesuits, soon became the centre of Christian propaganda not only in the State but also in the adjoining taluks of the Trichinopoly, Madura and Ramnad districts. The first allusion in the Mission letters to Pudukkóṭṭai territory refers to a Kaḷḷar chief Meycondān of Nandavanampatti on the border of the State.

Islam.—

The growth of the Muslim population in the State was the direct consequence of the frequent Muslim incursions. There were Muslims in the State even as early as the 15th century when a tomb was erected for a Muslim saint, Kāttubhāva,

in the village now called Paḷlivāśal in the Tirumayam Taluk. Sétupati Kaṭṭa Raghunāthadēva made grants (P. S. I. 901 dated A. D. 1696) to the mosque at Paḷlivāśal. This Sétupati may be identified with Raghunātha also called Kiḷavan Sétupati who then ruled over a large part of the modern Tirumayam taluk.

Literature and Art.—

Literature.—

The poet Kālamégam described with reference to his name 'black cloud' as 'the dark-cloud that pours down torrents of extempore verses' belongs to this period. He lived for many years at Śrīraṅgam. His great rival was Atimadurakavi. Villi who composed the Tamil *Bhāratam* was a master of metre. Parañjōti's *Tiruvīlayāḍalpurāṇam* recounting the sixty-four diversions of Śrī Mīnākṣi and Śrī Sundarésvara, the Goddess and God of Madura, is largely read and expounded to this day by Śaivas in the State. Aruṇagiri whose place in Tamil religious history is not inferior to that of the greatest of the Saiva Saints, was a sage and hymnist. He visited Virālimalai in the State, and the hymns * sung in praise of the God in the temple there express some of his mystic experiences while worshipping at the shrines there and at Vayalūr, a village near Trichinopoly. He is believed to have lived in the middle of the 15th century.†

The *Siddhar* ‡ were *yōgis*—men who were believed to have attained marvellous psychic powers. As poets they have a high place in Tamil literature. Nārttāmalai in the State is believed to have been a favourite resort of some of them. The *maṭhas*

* *Tiruppugaḷ*—Śaiva Siddhānta Mahā Samājam Edition—Madras, Nos. 176, 223, 254, 277, 310, 383, 487, 538, 582, 687, 785, 832, 888, 913, 991, 1146, 1219 and 1231. No. 388 refers to Virāliyūr and 1225 to Virālūr, a suburb of Virālimalai.

† *Ibid.* Introduction p. 16.

‡ "The Sittar were a Tamil sect, who while retaining Śiva as the name of the one God, rejected everything in Śiva worship inconsistent with pure theism. They were quietists in religion and alchemists in science."—G. A. Greirson in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 435.

were the repositories of learning and supported a large number of poets. A few stray verses of poets, otherwise unknown to fame, have been discovered in the State inscriptions. In P. S. I. 1092, there is a Tamil verse in praise of Śikhānātha, the God of the central shrine at Kuḍumiyāmalai. In P. S. I. 1067, there is one in praise of the God of Tiruvaraṅgulam, and in P. S. I. 1025, there is another in praise of the God in the temple at Ālaṅguḍi. P. S. I. 1068 has a Sanskrit hymn in praise of the God at Tiruvaraṅgulam.

The chiefs and Zamīndārs patronised poets, some of whom exhibited great skill in versification. P. S. I. 1010 at Rāṅgiyam refers to a grant to a poet named Kanakasabhai by Vijayaraghunātha Sétupati. In P. S. I. 992, a poet extols the munificence of his patron Bālakṛṣṇa Cokkanātha Lakkaiya, evidently of the line of the Kumāravāḍi poligars, who constructed a *manṭapam* in the Ammaṅkurichi temple. P. S. I. 996 at Rāṅgiyam relates to a grant of rent-free land by Tittāriyappar, the agent of Venkala Nāyak, and the residents of Rāsiṅgamaṅgalam in Ponnamarāvati nāḍu to a Vellāla poet Paṇḍikavirāsa who composed the *Vīramālai*. * Paḍikkāsu Paṇḍāram is believed to have been a court poet at Ramnad in the days of Raghunātha Sétupati (C. 1645-1670). To him is attributed the authorship of *Seventelunta Pallavan Pillai Tamil* and *Seventelunta Pallavan ulā*, two poems in praise of Seventelunta Pallavarāya who ruled over a large part of the State. This poet was patronised by a number of chiefs including Tirumalai Nāyak of Madura. P. S. I. 673 to 678 are verses in praise of Bāṇa chiefs; P. S. I. 674 extols the Garuḍa flag of the Bāṇas, and 677 and 678 extol Vīra Magadan Ponparappinān. In P. S. I. 994 there is an eulogy of a Vāṇādarāya who converted a flower garden into a wet land. The Vellālars of Kāraiūr who were reputed in olden times for their husbandry rightly deserve the encomium addressed to them in a verse in P. S. I. 998.

* *Vīramālai* (literally 'Garland of victory' is a poem in praise of warriors.

The name of the poet Jñāna Varódaya is associated with the origin of the Śrī Subrahmanya temple at Virālimalai. He was a native of Vayalūr, and by the grace of Subrahmanya became a poet and sang hymns in his praise. It was at his request that Aḷagiya Maṇavāla Tévar, a chieftain of Pérāmbūr-Kattalūr, built the temple at Virālimalai.

Nīlakanṭha Dīkṣita, who, as a minister of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura, was associated with the administration of the State, was a scholar, philosopher and poet of great merit. His poems in Sanskrit rank among the classics of that language.

Architecture.—

The pillared halls (*maṇṭapam*) in the temples in the State belong mostly to the 'Vijayanagar' and 'Madura' styles. The principal idols are taken in procession to these halls during festivals. The *maṇṭapam* took the form of a long corridor in the 'Madura' period. Examples of such corridors are to be found at Tirugókarnam, Tiruvéngaivāsal, Kuḍumiyāmalai and Tiruvaraṅgulam, but none of them is comparable in extent to the corridors of Rāmésvaram.

The pillars in the Vijayanagar structures found in the State temples have the following peculiarities. The base is invariably decorated. The rectangular bands at the bottom and top are often ornamented. The pillars are massive and generally cubical in section. In the State we miss the monolithic pillars with a number of small columns with bulbous capitals sculptured on their sides, that we see at Madura or Suchíndram. There are however, massive monolithic pillars, called *aṇiyottikkāl*, oblong in section, set at right angles to the axis of the corridor which they flank and elaborately sculptured with figures of Gods, chieftains, worshippers, demigods, or women bearing lamps. The Kuḍumiyāmalai and Ammaṅkurichi temples have the best specimens of such pillars. The sides of such pillars are often sculptured in high and low relief. The stone slabs forming the roofs of the corridors or pavilions are often supported by carved

lions or rearing horses placed above the pillars. The style of these structures though elaborate is debased and the carving coarse.

Many temples in the State * have sculptures of chiefs, Kalla and Marava chieftains or other donors. They are generally sculptured in the attitude of worship on the pillars of the front halls. How far they are conventional effigies or types rather than real portraits, it is impossible to say. They presumably reproduce the details of contemporary costumes, jewellery, etc., and are on that account of interest to the archæologist.

* E.g. Tirugókarṇam, Kuḍumiyámalai, Kunnáṇḍárkóvil, Tirumayam, Iḍayáttúr, Ammaṇkurichi, etc.

SECTION VI.—TONÐAIMÁNS: THE MAKING OF THE STATE.

ORIGIN OF THE TONÐAIMÁNS.

An account of the origin of the Tonðaimàns is found in a Telugu poem called *the Tonðaimán Vamsávali*, which was written by a Court poet of the name of Venkaṇṇa about 1750 A. D., a summary of which is given below.

When Indra *, King of Heaven, was once touring on the earth, he met a maiden whom he married. She gave birth to many sons, one of whom became a ruler. From him was descended the following line of rulers.

- | | |
|-------------|---------------------|
| 1. Tiruma, | 9. Namana, |
| 2. Namana, | 10. Paccai, |
| 3. Paccai, | 11. Kiñkiñi, |
| 4. Daṇḍaka, | 12. Daṇḍaka, |
| 5. Namana, | 13. Tiruma, |
| 6. Tiruma, | 14. Paccai, |
| 7. Namana, | 15. Ràya Tonðaimàn. |
| 8. Paccai, | |

The list seems to have been invented to give an air of antiquity to the Tonðaimàn line of rulers.

This account of the legendary origin of the Tonðaimàns is only a variant of the story relating to the origin of the Kaḷḷar community as a whole, which is traced to Indra and Ahalya, the wife of the sage Gautama, whom the former had seduced. The Tonðaimàns of the present ruling line are said to have come like the Pallavaràyers from Tonðaimaṇḍalam, comprising the present

* 'It appears that the illustrious house of Tonðaimán, claiming its origin from Indra, sprang up in Tonðaimaṇḍalam, near Tirupati, and founded a settlement in this part of the country, on a certain occasion when emigration was resorted to by a member of the family.'—*Introductory note to the official publication of "The Letters of the Tonðaimàns to and from the Officers of the East India Company and the Nabob of Arcot."*

Chingleput, Chittoor, and North Arcot Districts. The *Toṇḍaimàns* were a tribe of *Kaḷḷars* that lived on the hills near Tirupati and were skilful catchers of elephants*. Some of them were engaged by the Pallava kings of Conjeeveram as *mahouts* of the Palace elephants, and one of them, † with his people followed a Pallavaràyar from Conjeeveram and had lands at Ambukkóvil or Alumbil, as it is called in old Tamil works and inscriptions, and some other villages assigned to him.

Ambunàḍu also called Alumbil nàdu formed originally one of the twelve independent small communities forming a sort of confederacy. It was a *Tannarasunàḍu*, that is, a district which had its own kings.

From an inscription (P. S. I. 879 dated A. D. 1728) at Vellaimanṭapam in the Kolattūr taluk, the late Mr. Radhakrishna Aiyar concluded that "the ruler (*Rāmasvāmi Toṇḍaimàn* of Kolattūr) seems to connect himself with the family of the well-known Vaiṣṇava saint of the name of Tirumaṅgai Ālvār". The text of the inscription says that the *Toṇḍaimàn nāṭṭars* were the descendants of the families of the ministers of *Kaḷḷa Tirumaṅgai Ālvār*. ‡ An *Ammāchatram* copper plate grant of *Rāmasvāmi Toṇḍaimàn* which gives the *prasasti* of the *Toṇḍaimàns* confirms this claim that they were descendants of the eight followers of Tirumaṅgai Ālvār.

The inscriptions of the early *Toṇḍaimàn* rulers refer to them as belonging to the race of Indra, and the sept of *Kāśyapa* (*Kāśyapaśāstra*). §

* See pages 545—546 f. n.

† *Toṇḍaimàn Cakravarti* is the name of the *Toṇḍaimàn* who came with a certain *Veṅkatācala* Pallavaràyar and settled at Ambukkóvil.

‡ *Kaḷḷa Tirumaṅgai Ālvār mantri Vargattinuḍaiya Vāṅgiṣamāna nāṭṭaril*.

§ P. S. I. 763, dated A. D. 1798, at Vennaimuttuppaṭṭi, and three copper plate grants of the reign of Vijaya Raghunātha *Toṇḍaimàn* (1789—1807). These copper plates were collected by Mr. N. P. Swaminatha Aiyar and deposited in the State Museum—The grants under reference are Nos. 25, 29, 30 and 31. We shall refer to them in future as the *State Museum Plates*.

Settlements of other Kallar classes related to the Tondaimáns.

Along with the Tondaimáns, nine other tribes settled in Ambilnàdu. The distinguishing titles of the ten tribes are respectively the following:—

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>Mañikkirán.</i> | 4. <i>Káduvet̤i.</i> |
| 2. <i>Pan̤rikon̤drán.</i> | 5. <i>Menattaraiyan.</i> |
| 3. <i>Pirppan̤ri kondrán.</i> | |

These five were called the *North Street men*.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 6. <i>Pallavaráyan.</i> | 9. <i>Kaḷiyirán.</i> |
| 7. <i>Ton̤daimán.</i> | 10. <i>Pórpan̤ri kon̤drán.</i> |
| 8. <i>Ráñgiyan.</i> | |

These five were called the *South Street men*.

These ten tribes were known as *arásus* or lords as distinguished from *kud̤i*, subjects or serving people. The ten *arásus* are said to have brought with them to their new colony the following five *kud̤i*.

1. *Kurukkal*—priests;
2. *Piccar*—men in charge of the store-rooms of the temples;
3. *Kan̤diyar*—garland-stringers for the temples;
4. *Mēlakárar*—pipers and drummers; and
5. *Washermen and Barbers*.

After settling down in Ambilnàdu, the colonists were joined by two fresh tribes of Kallars bearing the titles of *Adaiya-valañján* and *Kaḷingarán*. The whole body then moved in different directions and founded nine *kuppams* or settlements, the names of which are:—

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Piláviḍuti.</i> | 6. <i>Narañgiyanpaṭṭi.</i> |
| 2. <i>Vaḍakkaḷúr.</i> | 7. <i>Ammanipaṭṭi.</i> |
| 3. <i>Kallákóṭṭai.</i> | 8. <i>Panduvakkóṭṭai.</i> |
| 4. <i>Karambakkud̤i.</i> | 9. <i>Māṅgalavēḷḷáviḍuti.</i> |
| 5. <i>Neivēli.</i> | |

From inscriptions and copper plates, we find that the Tonḍaimàns were at first living peacefully with their followers as agriculturists at Terkalūr in Ambilnāḍu exercising the powers of Araiyaṛs. The ten tribes mentioned above were worshippers of Śiva, Gaṇéśa, and Vīra Mākāḷi Amman. The common meetings of all the Kallars of the Ambilnāḍu were held at the temples of these Gods.

*RĀYA TONḌAIMĀN—THE PROGENITOR OF THE PUDUKKÓṬṬAI
RULING HOUSE.*

While Śrīranga Rāya, King of Vijayanagar, and in theory "suzerain of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura" was touring in this part of South India, one of his elephants got out of control and worked great havoc. Āvaḍai Raghunātha Tonḍaimān, son of Paccai Tonḍaimān of Karambakkuḍi, captured the elephant with great skill, and conducted it to Śrīranga Rāya. The king was so much pleased with the exploit that he conferred on Āvaḍai Raghunātha Tonḍaimān the title of *Rāya Rāhutta Rāya Vajriḍu Rāya Manniḍu Rāya* so that the Tonḍaimān came to be called ever afterwards *Rāya Tonḍaimān*. The king granted him also some lands and many insignias of distinction such as an elephant with *howdah*, another carrying a kettle-drum, a palanquin, a large drum, the insignia of a *Gaṇḍa-bhērunda*, (or the fabulous bird said to prey on elephants), flags bearing the emblems of a lion, carp, Garuda and Hanuman, horses and umbrellas, the right to use torches in the day-time, and a couple of bards to go in front of his palanquin singing his praises.*

In all the copper plates issued by the Tonḍaimāns, Āvaḍai Tonḍaimān is never mentioned by this name, but is always called "Rāya Tonḍaimān, who got the title of *Rāya* from Śrīranga Rāya". The first Tonḍaimān ruler of Pudukkóṭṭai inherited the title and called himself Raghunātha Rāya Tonḍaimān (1686—1730 A. D.), and some of his successors also adopted it.

* See the Tamil poem *Rāya Tonḍaimān Auṛḍgamālai*.

RAGHUNÁTHA RÁYA TONÐAIMÁN (1686 to 1730 A. D.)**Contemporary Rulers.****Madura.***Muttuvírappa Náyak III (1682—9).**Maṅgammaḷ (1689—1706).**Vijayarāṅga Cokkandātha (1706—32).***Tanjore.***Shāhji (1684—1712).**Sarabhóji I (1712—28).**Tukkóji (1728—36).***Ramnad.***Raghunātha Tévar or Kīḷavan Sétupati (1673—1708).**Vijaya Raghunātha Tévar or Tiruvuḍaiya Sétupati (1709—23).**Tandar Tévar (1723—24).**Bhavāni Śaṅkar Tévar (1724—28).**Kúṭta Tévar or Kumdra Muttu Vijaya Raghunātha (1728—34).***Mysore.***Cikka Déva Rāja Woḍeyār (1672—1704).**Kaṅḡhīrava Woḍeyār (1704—18).**Dodda Kṛṣṇa Rāja Woḍeyār (1713—31).*

Rāya Tonḍaimán had four sons of the names of Raghunātha, Namana, Paccai and Perama, and also a daughter of the name of Kāttali. Raghunātha and his brothers were brave men, skilled in hunting. Raghunātha was born in 1641 and succeeded to his father's estate at Pilāviduti in 1661.

His early career.—

His services to the Náyak King of Tanjore. Vijayarāghava Náyak of Tanjore, hearing of the personal strength and courage of Raghunātha Rāya Tonḍaimán, invited him to his court. Being a Kallār chief himself, Raghunātha was very useful in keeping under check the lawless Kallārs who infested the road to Rāmésvaram and attacked the pilgrims. He rose higher and higher in service and held with credit positions of responsibility till about the close of the Náyak rule in Tanjore. The Rājā, in appreciation of his services, presented

the Tonḍaimān with horses, elephants, a necklace with a diamond pendant and a large State sword named *Periya Rāmā Bānam*, which is preserved in the Palace, and also granted him a few villages near Pilāviduti.* Raghunātha was a staunch Śaivite, and, seeing that Vijaya Rāghava Nāyak was becoming a bigoted Vaiṣṇava, gave up service under him and returned to his estate.

His services to the Nāyak Kings of Madura—Trichinopoly.

Soon afterwards the Tonḍaimān distinguished himself in the service of the Nāyak King of Madura by the help that he rendered (in 1682) to Rāṅga Kṛṣṇa Muttuvirappa Nāyak in preventing the Fort of Trichinopoly from falling into the hands of his enemies. In consequence of this service, the position of Raghunātha Tonḍaimān as a chief became more dignified. The Ambilnādu Kallars became, through the favour of the Nāyak, the heads of twelve districts under their chief, the Tonḍaimān. It was probably at this time that Raghunātha Rāya Tonḍaimān was appointed as the *Araṣu Kāvāikār* of Trichinopoly.

How he became Ruler of Pudukkottai.—

The Sétupati of Ramnad, Vijaya Raghunātha Kijavan Sétupati (1673–1710 A. D.), hearing of the prowess of the Tonḍaimāns, invited Raghunātha Rāya Tonḍaimān and his brother, Namana Tonḍaimān to Ramnad and engaged them in military service. They were useful in subduing a number of Tévars who were minor chieftains and had been giving the Sétupati a good deal of trouble, and thus secured the esteem of the Sétupati. Raghunātha Rāya Tonḍaimān signalled himself by performing two exploits and thus endeared himself to the Sétupati. One of these was the capture of the State elephant of Tanjore, with the ruler of which State the Sétupati was engaged in hostilities. The other was the subjugation of the Pālayakār of Eṭṭaiyapuram.

* The title of *Vijaya* prefixed to the names of the Tonḍaimān rulers of Pudukkōṭṭai was conferred by Vijaya Rāghava, the king of Tanjore.

At this time the Sétupati fell in love with Kàttali, sister of the Tonḍaimàn, and married her. She was the second wife of Kilavan Sétupati, who is known to have had more than forty-seven wives. She was much attached to her husband and committed *sati* on his death in 1710.

This marriage strengthened the ties of friendship between the Tonḍaimàns and the Sétupati. About this time, according to the *Tonḍaimàn Vamsávali*, one of the elephants of the Sétupati got out of control, and Namana Tonḍaimàn captured it with great dexterity and boldness and prevented much bloodshed. The incident still further enhanced the esteem of the Sétupati for the Tonḍaimàns.

Soon after this incident, the Tonḍaimàns wanted to return to their estate. The Sétupati desired to present Raghunàtha Ràya Tonḍaimàn with a Pàlayam. He summoned to his camp at Kàlaiyàrkóvil Seventelunta, the last of the Pallavaràyers, who had assumed the title of Ràja and ruled a small tract of land to the south of the Vellàr as a feudatory of Ramnad. When the Sétupati's messengers approached the Pallavaràyar's camp at Kaṇḍadévi, he was engaged in worship and could not start immediately. The Sétupati was provoked that the Pallavaràyar should think more of his worship than of his duty to his lord, and, placing his son on his State elephant, directed him to march to Kaṇḍadévi and make an end of the Pallavaràyar. The prince met him on the banks of an *úrani* at Kaṇḍadevi and had him seized by his men. The Pallavaràyar, finding resistance useless, put an end to his life* with the curse on his lips that the Sétupatis should sooner or later lose all their sovereign rights.

The Sétupati then sent for a gold palanquin, and presenting it to the Tonḍaimàn and his brother, directed Ilandàri Ambalakàr, a military officer under him, to take them to Dharma Pillai,

* On hearing this, the wives and children of the Pallavaràyar committed suicide by throwing themselves into the Pallavan tank in front of the Palace.

the Sétupati's agent at Tirumayam, and there instal Raghunàtha as the ruler of the Pallavaràyar's dominions which the agent promptly did. The Sétupati then gave a sword of honour to Raghunàtha which is still preserved in the Palace and called *Cinna Rāma Bānam*, and a right-handed conch which is said to bring good fortune to its owner.

An examination of the whole question tends to show that it was only a tract of land to the south of the Vellār that the Tonḍaimān got from the Sétupati, and not the much more extensive dominion to the north of the river, ruled by the Pallavarāyas. It may be supposed that with the help of the Sétupati's forces Raghunàtha Rāya Tonḍaimān acquired the other territories of the Pallavarāyar.

His reign.—One of the first acts of Raghunàtha Rāya after his installation was to reward those who had helped him in becoming the ruler of Pudukkóṭṭai. He granted tracts of land to Ilandāri Ambalakār, and his friend, Nallakuṭṭi Valaṅkoṇḍān, on condition that they should provide forces to help him in his wars. Dharma Piḷḷai was appointed Commandant, and Kurunta Piḷḷai the *Kāriakartā* or agent or minister.

Raghunàtha Rāya had six wives and seven mistresses. By the first wife he had a son named Periya (the elder) Rāya Tonḍaimān, by the second wife, a son named Cinna (the younger) Rāya Tonḍaimān, by the third, a son named Tirumalai Tonḍaimān, by the fourth a son named Muttu Vijaya Tonḍaimān and a daughter named Periyānāyaki Āyi. The *Tonḍaimān Vamsāvali* mentions another son Vijaya. It is said that the Tonḍaimān had 32 sons, legitimate and illegitimate. He had a brother, Paccai, who lived with him. This valiant brother and the numerous sons constituted a force such as none of the neighbouring chieftains possessed.

The Tondaiman's successes in Travancore.—The Nāyak ruler of Madura employed Raghunàtha Rāya in military affairs and sent him against Travancore. From 1634 A. D. Travancore

had been paying an annual tribute to Madura. In 1697, owing to the disorderly state of the Madura kingdom, the Travancore King was unpunctual in remitting his usual tribute. In 1698 Maṅgammal, the Queen-Regent of Madura, sent against him a large army under the command of Narasappayya, the Dalavai. Raghunātha Rāya Tonḍaimān was one of the leaders of this army and distinguished himself in Travancore. He conquered Kalkulam, Kambam, and Gúḍalūr, and returned with bronze guns * as trophies.

He defeats the Mysore forces.—About this time the Tonḍaimān defeated the Mysore forces who besieged Trichinopoly.

He helps the Nayaks in their war with Tanjore.—There was a dispute between the Marāṭha ruler of Tanjore and the Nāyak ruler of Madura—Trichinopoly about the lands near Tirukkāṭṭupalli, six miles from Kóviladi, the possession of which was extremely important to the Tanjore country as its irrigation by the Kāvéri and its branches is practically controlled by the Grand Anicut near this place. The Tonḍaimān rendered signal service to the Nāyak, defeated the Tanjore army, and conquered the tract of country to the west of Tirukkāṭṭupalli for Trichinopoly. From this date forwards (about 1700 A. D.), until Tanjore came into the hands of the English, we find the Tanjore Rājās very often in difficulties with reference to the irrigation of the Tanjore Kingdom. Bālóji Pant, a Tanjore general, gathered an army of 2,000 cavalry evidently to chastise the Tonḍaimān for the loss of Tirukkāṭṭupalli. The Tonḍaimān penetrated boldly into the enemy's camp, scaled the ramparts of Paṭṭukkóṭṭai where Bālóji Pant was stationed and forced him to evacuate the fort.

War with Tanjore and Ramnad.—*The battle of Péraiyaṛ.* The Rājā of Tanjore then made an alliance with Tiruvudaiya Sétupati of Ramnad who had succeeded Kīḷavan Sétupati and

* One of them with the name *Raghunātha Rāyam* inscribed on the first reinforce and phase is now kept in the State Museum. Evidently it was renamed after the Tonḍaimān.

sent a large force against the Tondaimàn under Hindu Rao a Maràtha general. The Sétupati also sent a force under one Indra Tévan*, who marched to Pudukkóttai through Tirumayam. The Maràtha forces were stationed at Péraiyr, and the Maravars under Indra Tévan occupied the country to the south and south-east of the Pudukkóttai town. The Tondaimàn in person, assisted by his five sons marched out from Pudukkóttai to meet the enemy. In a sanguinary engagement he defeated the Maràthas and Maravars, slaying Indra Tévan, the Ramnad general, and many others, and captured several elephants, horses, palanquins, war-drums, etc. Tirumalai Tondaimàn distinguished himself in this battle more than his father or any of his brothers.

The Tondaiman subdues several poligars.—The Tondaimàn next brought under subjection the poligars of Turaiyúr, Ariyalúr, Udaiyàrpàlayam and Vālikanḍapuram. These chieftains must have refused to pay their tribute to the Madura Nàyak who evidently sent a force to collect the tribute with Raghunàtha Ràya Tondaimàn as its leader.

The Tondaimans very powerful at Trichinopoly.—The Tondaimàn brothers had become so powerful that, according to the letters of the Madura Mission to Rome, "by 1711 the Tondaimàn Ràja had made himself formidable to the king of Madura himself," and by 1716 "owing to the dotage of the effeminate Nàyak ruler (Cokkanàtha Nàyak) the Tondaimàn had for a time become all powerful at Trichinopoly." Góvindappa Aiyar, the prime minister, soon after expelled the Tondaimàn from the Court and forced him to stay within the limits of his own dominion.

* This incident is referred to in two dance-songs, *Ambundāṭṭu Vāḷandān* and *Venkaṇṇa Sérvakāḍi Vāḷandān*.

“கந்தாமல் வந்தவொரு கவிசாட்டுக் கம்பாழித்

இந்திராதி தேவனை எதிர்த்தெட்டுத் தெரண்டைமாண்.”

“The Tondaimàn who opposed and killed Indra Tévan and others, who marched fearlessly to the Kavinād tank.”

The Tondaiman helps Tanjore against Ramnad.—About the year 1720, the Rājā of Tanjore, from whom Kīlavan Sétupati had wrested Arantāṅgi and some other places, gained over the Tondaimān to his side and declared war against Tiruvudaiya Tévar, successor of Kīlavan Sétupati. The Sétupati went out to meet the allied forces at Arantāṅgi. Some indecisive actions were fought. An epidemic broke out in the camp of the Sétupati which carried off many of his sons and wives, and he himself contracted the disease which proved fatal shortly after he was brought to Ramnad.

Civil War in Ramnad. Acquisition of Tirumayam. Sétupati Tiruvudaiya Tévar died in 1723, nominating Tanda Tévar as his successor. The accession of this Sétupati was contested by Bhavāni Sankar, an illegitimate son of Kīlavan Sétupati. Upon this Tanda Tévar applied for assistance to the King of Madura and also to the Tondaimān promising to cede to the latter, if successful, the districts of Kīlānilai and Tirumayam. He obtained the required assistance within a few days, and proceeded to besiege his rival in Arantāṅgi who, unable to cope with the forces against him, gave up the contest for a time and fled to Tanjore.

Tirumayam, to the south of the Vellār, whether it had been held before as a fief or not, now became an integral part of the Pudukkóttai State.

The Tondaiman's conquests and annexations.—About this time, seeing that Ramnad was under weak rulers, the Tondaimān set about to conquer the lands in the south-west of the State. Lands to the west of Virāchilai belonged to Pūcci Nāyak of Marungāpuri, and those about Ponnamarāvati belonged to Bommi Nāyak of Karisalpaṭṭu—Vārappūr. Soon after Raghunātha Rāya Tondaimān received the grant of Tirumayam, he took the lands about Ponnamarāvati and to the north of Pirānmalai, and extended his territory to the present south-western limits of the State. His conquests included

Viràchilai and Oliyamaṅgalam; the people of Vārpaṭṭu voluntarily placed themselves under the Tonḍaimān, as they hoped to find him a better ruler than Bommi Nāyak.

The Tonḍaimān thus became the ruler of almost the whole of the modern Tirumayam Taluk with the exception of the Kīlānilai firka. On the eastern side he built a fort at Miratṇilai in about 1710 A. D. presumably to prevent the ingress of hostile forces from the east, where there were constant feuds between the Rājā of Tanjore and the Sétupati.

The Tondaiman's charities.—The Tonḍaimān was a devoted worshipper of Śiva, but was tolerant and even kind to people of other religions. Though he established Śaivism in the State, he granted in 1718 Kaḍayakkudi, and with Namana Tonḍaimān, Tiruppūr and some other villages to Vaiṣṇava Brahmīns rent-free. A village of the name of Pōram was granted to Brahmīns in 1728 A. D. in the name of his son Tirumalairāya Tonḍaimān, who distinguished himself in the Péraiyr engagement. A part of the temple at Kuḍumiyāmalai was built by Raghunātha Rāya Tonḍaimān, and another by his minister Kurunta Pillai. The choultries in the Puḍukkóṭṭai town and at Tirumayam were probably founded by this ruler.

The Tonḍaimān was very kind to the Christians, and in 1711 when the bishop of San Thomé was paying the first pastoral visit to Āvūr, he went there to visit His Lordship and treated him with great honour. In 1713 he granted a charter to the Father at Āvūr promising Christian debtors that sought refuge in the Church there freedom from arrest. In 1716, however, the fine Church at Āvūr was destroyed owing to the incitement of the village officers, who had always been hostile to the Christians. For the next ten years—from 1717 to 1727—the Puḍukkóṭṭai State was such a safe place that it afforded refuge to the persecuted Christians and Missionaries of the neighbourhood, notably during a fierce persecution raised in Trichinopoly in 1727 by a man of the

Mudali caste, the agent of the new Brahmin prime minister, Nàraṇappa Aiyar. What the Mudali most desired was to persecute one of the Missionaries, Fr. Bertholdi, who as often as he was pursued, retired to the Tonḍaimān's territory and thus escaped molestation at his hands. This shows that the Tonḍaimān had become practically independent of the Nāyak rulers.

A terrible famine in the State.—There was a terrible famine in the State in 1709, the like of which the country had not experienced probably for centuries. Father Bertholdi who worked for many years at Āvūr, and his successor, Father Joseph Veyra, who on his ministration had travelled all over the State and could have well observed the effect of the famine which was only just ending in 1730, have recorded that not one-thirtieth of the population survived. The price of rice which was ordinarily one *paṇam* for eight *marakkāls* rose to four *paṇams* per *marakkāl*.

Character of the Tondaiman. His death.—Enough has been said to show that the Tonḍaimān, who was noted for his bravery, intrepidity and bodily strength, was far in advance of his time in his impartiality, fair-mindedness and general character. He died in 1730. All his legitimate sons and several of the illegitimate sons were now dead. A brother, Paccai Tonḍaimān, three illegitimate sons and four legitimate grandsons, remained alive. There was no likelihood of a peaceful succession to the Rāj. The Tonḍaimān wished his eldest grandson, Vijaya Raghunātha, to be the future ruler of the country. To ensure this, he summoned Iḷandāri Āmbalakāran and Āvuḍaiyappa Śérvaikāran to his bedside and in their presence presented the State signet-ring and his own ear-rings to his eldest grandson, Vijaya Raghunātha, enjoining on the two Sardārs the duty of supporting the young Tonḍaimān against his rivals and enemies. The Sardārs promised to carry out his wishes. The Tonḍaimān passed away shortly after this.

Inscriptions of the reign.—

It is difficult to say how many of the undated inscriptions in modern Tamil published in the "Text and Chronological list of inscriptions of the Pudukkóttai State" belong to the Tonḍaimàṇ period. P. S. I. 877, an inscription at Tiruppúr in the Kolattúr Taluk, is dated in the "Chronological list" in S. 1631—Tamil year *Parābhava*. The Tamil year and the astronomical data correspond to S. 1609; the date of the inscription must therefore be A. D. 1687. P. S. I. 976, an undated inscription at Péraiýúr, refers to the settlement by Raghunātha Rāya Tonḍaimàṇ of a dispute between the Pallars and Paraiyars of the villages in Kānanāḍu. P. S. I. 1089, another undated inscription, records that the *maṇḍapam* before the Mélaikóvil at Kuḍumiyāmalai was the gift of this ruler.

TONḌAIMĀNS OF KOLATTÚR.

We shall digress a little to study the fortunes of the Kolattúr line of Tonḍaimàṇs.

About the time that Raghunātha Rāya became ruler of Pudukkóttai, Namana Tonḍaimàṇ, his brother, became ruler of Kolattúr. The Poligar of Nāgalāpuram in Tinnevely District had become insubordinate to the Nāyak ruler of Madura and refused to pay the usual tribute. The Nāyak ruler, who had already received substantial help from the Tonḍaimàṇs, directed Namana to proceed to Nāgalāpuram and bring its chieftain under subjugation. Namana Tonḍaimàṇ defeated the chieftain and some other Poligars that had allied themselves with him, such as Puli Tévan and Kaṭṭabomma Nāyak, and brought them again under the rule of the Nāyaks of Madura. He returned to Trichinopoly which was then the capital of the Madura kingdom and respectfully placed before the Nāyak the horses, elephants, etc., which he had captured or received as presents from the refractory chiefs whom he had defeated. The Nāyak King, Raṅga Kṛṣṇa Muttu Vīrappa (1682–89), was so much pleased with the way in which the affair had been managed that he made

Namana ruler over the tract of land about Koḷattúr. The Tonḍaimàn was so loyal a feudatory that he called himself Raṅga Kṛṣṇa Muttu Vīrappa Namana Tonḍaimàn after his Nàyak overlord. He received from the Nàyak King various presents and marks of distinction such as the use of flags bearing the emblems of *Hanumān* and *Garuḍa*, use of torches in the day-time, kettle drums and other instruments carried on elephants, war drums, and a suite of dancing girls.

So about the year 1690, we find Raghunātha Rāya Tonḍaimàn ruling at Pudukkóttai and Namana Tonḍaimàn ruling at Koḷattúr. The letters of the Madura Mission to Rome speak of these as "The Tonḍaimàn" and "Cinna Tonḍaimàn."

Namana Tondaiman's subjugation of the Visenginattu Kallars. The Viśeṅgināṭṭu Kaḷḷars were particularly troublesome to the Nàyaks owing to their lawless habits and their obstinate refusal to pay the Government dues. The Nàyak ruler pitched upon Namana Tonḍaimàn as the proper person to punish these Kaḷḷars. Namana encountered them at Puliyúr, defeated them and put their leaders to death.

Annexation of Perambur and Kattalur. Vijaya Raṅga Cokkanātha Nàyak found that the Kaḷḷar retainers of the Tonḍaimàn, could be of great help to him and reposed full confidence in him. The Kaṇḍalúr (Kattalúr) chieftain, a personal enemy of the Tonḍaimàn, had been for a time in disgrace at the Nàyak court. The Nàyak deprived him of his principality, which he transferred to the Tonḍaimàn as a personal appanage. Āvúr and the neighbouring villages were made over in 1707 to the Tonḍaimàn, as a mark of favour by the Nàyak king. The Missionaries of Āvúr were afraid that the Tonḍaimàn would resort to a bitter persecution of the Christians. This foreboding however proved false.

Annexation of Viralimalai and Ammankuricchi. After acquiring the principality of Pérambúr and Kattalúr, Namana Tonḍaimàn became the neighbour of the chieftain of Kumāravāḍi,

who owned the Viràlimalai country which had originally belonged to the chieftains of Péràmbúr and Kattalúr. About the year 1711 the Tonḍaimàn had several encounters with the Kumàravāḍi chief, finally overcame him, and annexed Viràlimalai to his dominion.

In this way Namana became ruler of more or less the whole of the modern Kolattúr Taluk. About this time he had obtained permission from the Nàyak King to subjugate Púcci Nàyak of Maruṅgàpuri. He then with the help of his brother Raghunàtha Ràya of Pudukkóṭṭai, defeated him and seized from him his capital Ammankuricchi and some other villages.

Namana Tondaiman as Ruler. Namana Tonḍaimàn was a charitable chief who was intent on promoting the good of his people. He built a Viṣṇu temple and a Śiva temple at Kolattúrt and made grants of land to the temple of the God Ganéśa at Péràmbúr*, and through his agent Uḍaiyappa Sérvaikàr to the Veṅkatéśa Perumàl kóvil at Viràlúr.† He built the caṅgula of the big tank at Kolattúr‡. In his time a number of villages were given away to Brahmins—for example, Ucchàni, Tiruppúr (in the Kolattúr Taluk) and Ammachatram.

Ramasvami Tondaiman of Kolattur. Namana Tonḍaimàn was succeeded by his son Ràmasvami Tonḍaimàn who died in 1736. Ràmasvami Tonḍaimàn, like his father, called himself after the Nàyak ruler of Madura—Vijaya Raṅga Cokkanàtha Ràmasvami Tonḍaimàn.§ He married Muttalakammàl, one of the foster-daughters of Maṅgammàl, the Queen-Regent of Trichinopoly, and received as her dowry five villages.

Ràmasvami Tonḍaimàn was a peaceful ruler, not caring for wars or extension of territory. The Sérvaikàrs of Aṇḍakulaṁ and Nāṅguppatti seem to have helped him greatly

* P. S. I. 920. (A. D. 1713).

† P. S. I. 916. (A. D. 1711).

‡ P. S. I. 1096.

§ Cf. P. S. I. 879 and the copper plate grants of the reign.

in keeping his pālayam in order and peace. For the convenience of pilgrims to Rāmesvaram, he built Chatrams—one at Nallūr, another at Kalamāvūr in 1728, for the maintenance of which the village of Pallattuppaṭṭi was set apart,* and a third at Ammachatram † in 1730 in the name of his wife Muttalakammāl, for the upkeep of which several villages were allotted. He formed an *agrahāram* round Ammachatram ‡ importing Brahmins, who were given rent-free lands, and he also granted as *sarvamānyam* two villages named Chandanathākuricchi (1724) and Nānjūr or Namanarāyasamudram (1734). He is mentioned as 'having developed a marked respect and veneration for the Christian religion, its doctrines, ceremonies and symbols, and especially that of the Cross.'

The end of the Kolattur line of Tondaimana. Rāmasvāmi Tondaimān was succeeded by his son, Namana Tondaimān II. Not much is known of this ruler. In his time, perhaps even earlier in his father's time, Pudukkóttai had become very much more powerful than Kolattūr and overshadowed it. We have an abundance of records relating to Pudukkóttai in the years 1750—1760, and these show that during this period Kolattūr did not exist as a separate State. We must therefore conclude that Kolattūr was annexed to Pudukkóttai and ceased to be a separate State sometime between 1740 and 1750. Namana was a weak-minded prince and had no legitimate son. He had a concubine for whom he built a palace at Kolattūr, called *Kannampatti Aranmanai*, now in ruins. By her he had a son to whom he forced the Sardars to pay the respects due to a heir-apparent. This disgusted the Sardars who appealed to the Tondaimān at Pudukkóttai to take over Kolattūr under his rule. The latter deposed Namana, sent him to Tirumayam as a State prisoner and annexed Kolattūr.§

* P. S. I. 879.

† State Museum Plates No. 23.

‡ Ammachatram copper plate grant.

§ These details are taken from Mr. Venkat Rao's unpublished *Manual*.

VIJAYA RAGHUNÁTHA BĀYA TONḌAIMĀN (1730—1762 A. D.),*Contemporary Rulers.**Madura.**Vijaya Raṅga Cokkandtha (1706—32).**Mīnāka (1732—36).**(Canda Sāhib proclaimed himself Ruler—1737).**Carnatic.**Dost Ali (died 1742).**Safdar Ali and his son (1742).**Anwar-ud-dīn (1742—1749).**(Dispute between Muhammad Ali and Canda Sāhib.)**Muhammad Ali (1752—1795).**Tanjore.**Tukkōji (1728—36).**Ēkōji II (1736—37).**Sujan Bāi (1737—38).**Shāhuji (1738—39).**Pratāp Singh (1739—63).**Tuljāji (1763—87).**Ramnād.**Kūtta Tévar or Kumdra Muttu Vijaya Raghundtha (1728—34).**Muttu Kumdra Raghunātha (1734—47).**Rākka Tévar (1747—48).**Śella Tévar (1748—60).**Muttu Rāmahāga (1760—72).**Mysore.**Cāma Rāja Wodeyār VII (1731—34).**Kṛṣṇa Rāja Wodeyār II (1734—66).**(Hyder Ali Khan was the real ruler between 1761 and 1762).**Governors of Fort St. George.**Thomas Saunders (1750—55).**George Pigot (1755—63).**Robert Polk (1763—67).**Charles Bouchier (1767—70).*

Dispute for Succession. Paccai Tonḍaimān, a brother of the last ruler, opposed the succession of Vijaya Raghunātha and applied to Rāmaśvāmi Tonḍaimān of Koḷattūr for help.

Āvudaiyappa Śérvaikār and Iḷandāri Ambalakār installed Vijaya Raghunātha Tonḍaimān in the temple of Bṛhadambā at Tirugokarnam, and shortly afterwards made the necessary preparations to march against Paccai Tonḍaimān at Kuḍumiyāmalai. Meanwhile Paccai Tonḍaimān and his forces had reduced several villages and committed all sorts of havoc wherever they went. The two generals of Pudukkóttai soon completed their preparations and marched against the enemy. They encountered the forces of Paccai Tonḍaimān, which were led by Kumāra Kaliyarān, an officer from Kolattūr, and defeated them with great slaughter. The Kaliyarān himself was killed, and the wreck of his troops fled in different directions. Paccai Tonḍaimān took refuge in the temple at Kuḍumiyāmalai. The generals laid siege to it, and at last he surrendered and was sent to the Fort of Tirumayam where he was kept as a State prisoner. The Sardārs returned to Pudukkóttai in great triumph. In recognition of the services that Āvudaiyappa Śérvaikār rendered, he was styled *Araśū nilainiruttina Āvudaiyappa Śérvaikār* or 'Āvudaiyappa Śérvaikār who established the Rāj.' The two villages of Miratṭunilai and Oṇānguḍi were set apart for the support of Paccai Tonḍaimān.

Creation of Two Jāgirs. One of the first acts of the new ruler was the grant of Jāgirs to two of his brothers, Rājagópala Tonḍaimān and Tirumalai Tonḍaimān, who were to him 'like his two arms.' This was a politic step, which made friends of near relatives, who might have otherwise been induced to openly or secretly oppose the ruler. Each of them received a tract of land estimated to yield a revenue of 20,000 *pon* or about Rs. 25,000.

The end of the Civil war in the Nayak Kingdom. *Its repercussion on Pudukkóttai.* Raṅga Kṛṣṇa Cokkanātha Nāyak of Madura died without issue in 1731, leaving his kingdom by will to the first of his eight wives, Mīnākṣi, who appointed two of her brothers to administer the kingdom. These began by forcing

Nàranappa Aiyar, the late minister, and his friends in office to refund the enormous sums that they had embezzled. These Brahmins to avenge themselves called back from exile Baṅgaru Tirumalai, a cousin of the late King, who had till then entirely eschewed politics, and gave him hopes of obtaining the crown. All the feudatory chiefs of the Nàyak rulers including the Tonḍaimàn, to whom attractive promises were made, joined the Pretender. About this time (in 1732), the Nawab of Arcot, who considered the Nàyak Kingdoms of Tanjore and Trichinopoly as subject to him, sent an expedition to exact tribute from the kingdoms of the South. The leaders of this expedition were Safdar Ali Khan, the Nawab's son, and his nephew, Canda Sahib. These took Tanjore by storm, and, after a victorious campaign in Madura and Travancore, assembled their forces near Trichinopoly. Instead of the two contending parties headed by the Queen and the Pretender joining together and driving out the Mussalmans, the Pretender made overtures to Safdar Ali, and Mīnākṣi, the Queen, to Canda Sahib. Meanwhile the Pretender, Baṅgaru Tirumalai, through the good offices of his Brahmin supporters, gathered an army, to which the feudatory chiefs including the Tonḍaimàn sent contingents, and secured the help of the Mysoreans also. His minister, Nàranappa Aiyar, marched against Madura and after some reverses succeeded in taking the fortress. Trichinopoly was next besieged, and terms of peace were arranged with the Queen. There were thus for a time practically two rulers in the Nàyak kingdom—a King in Madura and a Queen at Trichinopoly. Soon afterwards the Pretender was taken prisoner to Arcot by Canda Sahib, and Mīnākṣi was the sole ruler.

Owing to a serious failure of rain the civil war was succeeded by a famine in the State. But the greatest scourge to the Tonḍaimàn's country proved to be the auxiliary troops that roamed about the country setting the villages on fire, driving away the cattle and destroying the crops. The Jesuit Mission letters describe the situation as follows:—"It is not easy to recount the

ravages of the civil war in the Āur residence; but one can form an idea of it from the fact that five armies, viz., those of the Queen (Minatchi), of the King, her rival, of the Mayssurians, of the Tanjorians and of the Moghuls, were for several months encamped in the territory, and that there was not the least trace of discipline among the soldiery....." The church at Āvūr was the asylum of the people of the place and of the surrounding villages; for all who took refuge in it escaped the insults of the soldiers. But it was with great difficulty that the missionary was able to save his church.

The Muslim army that came to the help of the Rāñi invaded the territory of the Tonḍaimān, a supporter of the Pretender, and a party of them pitched their camp at Āvūr. Canda Sahib pitched his tents near the bed of the Kavinād tank near Tirugokarnam, destroyed the bunds of the tank, opened fire from the fort of Kālikuḍi,* destroyed the Palace of Puḍukkóttai, filled the town with his men and plundered the Treasury. The Rājā was taken for safety by Iḷandāri Ambalakār to the forests of Maṇipallam, to the east of the town, and brought back after all danger was over.

The Muslim army showed no desire to return to Arcot. They marched in 1735 towards Madura and received a deputation of the malcontents petitioning for the return of the Pretender. Baṅgāru Tirumala was consequently brought back from Arcot, and after his arrival the siege of Trichinopoly began. The Muslims captured the town and kept the Queen in confinement. They then brought out the Pretender and decorated him with the vain title of King. Shortly afterwards they made the puppet King prisoner once more and conferred the empty royal dignity on the Queen, whom they (in 1737) locked up in her palace and proclaimed Canda Sahib ruler of the kingdom. The Queen shortly afterwards poisoned herself.

* This fort was near Adappákkarān chatram, but there are no traces of it now.

Ananda Row's invasion of Pudukkóttai.—During the Trichinopoly Civil war, the Tanjore Rāja had supported the Queen, and the Tonḍaimān, the Pretender. The former obtained the approval of the Nāyak Queen to an invasion of Pudukkóttai. Ananda Row, the Tanjore General, occupied the whole of the Tonḍaimān's territory and besieged the fortress of Tirumayam. He kept on pressing the siege by force and by cunning, by promises and by intrigues,—until at last, all his efforts to capture the fortress having proved vain, he was obliged to raise the siege and hurriedly lead back his army to meet other enemies at Tanjore. The Tonḍaimān returned to his capital in October, 1734, after an absence therefrom of about fifteen months.

The Tonḍaimān attacks the Tanjore Zamindárs. The Tonḍaimān at this time attacked some tributary chiefs of Tanjore, the Zamindār of Nagaram, the Zamindār of Pālayavanam and the Jāgírdār of Vārappúr. The Jāgírdār, a Brahmin of the name of Rāghava Aiyangār, was killed by one Kakkai(=crow) Tiruman, one of Tonḍaimān's men, so that the Tonḍaimān found no difficulty in subjugating the greater part of the Jāgír and annexing it to his dominion. About this time, the Tonḍaimān seized some villages now in the south-eastern part of the State from the Zamindār of Pālayavanam, and some others now in the eastern part from the Zamindār of Nagaram and added them to Pudukkóttai. Thus about A. D. 1735 Pudukkóttai and Kolattúr together were as large as the present State exclusive of the Kīlānilai fírka, which the Tonḍaimān got from the British in A. D. 1803 as will be shown later.

Canda Sāhib's administration of the Nāyak Kingdom. Canda Sāhib placed his two brothers in the strongest towns dependent on his sovereignty—Buda Sāhib in Madura and Sadak Sāhib in Dindigul. His success was viewed with hostility at Arcot; he determined however not to throw off his allegiance to the Nawab before he should be openly attacked. Meanwhile the Nizam was

viewing with resentment the increase of the power of the Nawab, and the Peshwa was preparing to invade the Carnatic to collect the *Chouth* that had fallen in arrears for many years. He was encouraged in this by the Nizam himself who wanted to see the Nawab of Arcot and Canda Sahib humbled.

In 1741, Raghúji Bhonsle and Fateh Singh two of the foremost Marátha generals invaded the Trichinopoly province, killed the two brothers of Canda Sahib who had advanced to Trichinopoly to help their brother, captured the fort and returned to Satara, taking Canda Sahib with them as captive. In this war the Tonḍaimán helped the Maráthas against Canda Sahib. His men scaled the walls of the fort of Trichinopoly and hoisted the Marátha standard there. The *Tonḍaimán Vamsávali* says that the Tonḍaimán was admired for his valour by Fateh Singh and was awarded the title of *Vajridu* or "The Brave Warrior."

The Nizam in the South. Asafjah, the Nizam-ul-Mulk of Hyderabad, thought it was high time for him to re-assert his authority in Southern India and marched therefore to the Carnatic with an army of 80,000 horse, and 200,000 foot.

He reached Trichinopoly in March 1743, and besieged the city which was in the possession of the Maráthas. In September 1743; he captured Trichinopoly, and soon after Madura. To punish the Kallars who made nightly irruptions into his camp, he sent to all parts of the Kallar country strong bodies of cavalry that laid the country waste.

The Tonḍaimán's interview with the Nizám. According to the *Tonḍaimán Vamsávali*, the Tonḍaimán enjoyed about this time the honour of an interview with the Nizám. The poem says that "with kettle drums sounding, he was received by the Nizám, the representative of the Delhi 'Pádsháh', and that in his Court all the titles won by his forefathers were fully confirmed." The Nizám held a grand Darbar at which several princes and chiefs paid their homage to him.

The Tonḍaimān marched to the Darbar tent, causing his drums to be beaten till he reached the very entrance. In the course of his conversation with the Tonḍaimān, the Nizām caught sight of his sword which appeared to him to be bound round clumsily with cords. This amused the Nizām who asked the Tonḍaimān how he could conveniently use such a sword if suddenly attacked. The Tonḍaimān spoke not, but gave a dexterous tap to the sword with the tip of his thumb. Up flew the sword, piercing the tent cloth overhead. The astonished Nizām asked the Tonḍaimān what favour he wanted. The Tonḍaimān desired the addition of the province of Ilúppūr to his dominion, a favour which the Nizām at once granted. The territory thus acquired did not long remain in his hands, for he presented it to Nawab Muhammad Ali as his consort's pin-money.

Another Marátha Invasion. In 1745, the Maráthas again invaded the whole of the Madura Kingdom. At the beginning of March, they were all round Trichinopoly. The Missionaries of Ávūr and other Roman Catholic centres had to take refuge at Kuṇṇampatti, and the people of Malaiyadippatti moved with their cattle and furniture to the gorges of the Nàrttāmalai hills. A month later the Maráthas were driven away from all the country round by the Muslims at Trichinopoly, and the Kallars attacked their camp, where they had gathered up the produce of their raids,—in particular, large herds of cattle,—and carried everything away.

Grant of Kṣānilai to the Tonḍaimān. In 1749, the Rājā of Tanjore sent Mānóji to attack Araṇtāṅgi, a strong and important fort, the possession of which had long been in dispute between the Rājas of Tanjore and the Sétupatis. Mānóji, finding his own forces insufficient, applied for help to the Tonḍaimān, who stipulated, in return, for the cession of the Kṣānilai Fort and district, valued at 30,000 rupees a year. Arantāṅgi was reduced, and the Tonḍaimān, taking possession of the Fort of Kṣānilai and the district around it, pressed Mānóji for the patents of cession under the seal of the Rājā of Tanjore,

But the King disavowed the act of the general, telling him that he had exceeded the limits of his authority in making the contract with the Tonḍaimàṇ. On this Mānóji purloined the use of the seal and delivered, according to his promise, the patents thus apparently authenticated.

The famous War of Succession in the Carnatic. In 1749 began the famous war for the succession to the Carnatic throne between Anvar-ud-dīn and his son Muhammad Ali on the one side and Canda Sahib on the other, which ultimately proved to be a war for the mastery of Southern India between the English and the French. Canda Sahib was, before the commencement of the war, a State prisoner at Satāra. Dupleix, the French Governor, who knew his abilities, arranged for his release, whereupon Canda Sahib appeared in the Carnatic with a small army furnished by the Marāthas. Soon after the war began, Anvar-ud-dīn was slain in battle, and Canda Sahib succeeded him as Nawab. Muhammad Ali, one of the sons of Anvar-ud-dīn, fled to Trichinopoly, where he proclaimed himself Nawab. The astute Dupleix, recognised that upon the capture of Trichinopoly and of Muhammad Ali depended the permanent supremacy of the French in the Carnatic, and decided to help Canda Sahib with a large force and an advance of a large sum of money.

Muhammad Ali applies to the English Company for help. Canda Sahib now appeared to be all powerful, and Muhammad Ali, appealed to the Governor of Madras for assistance, in return for which he offered to cede a large territory near Madras and further to defray the expenses of the war. The English, who had hitherto been rather indifferent, recognised that their only chance of safety lay in their supporting the cause of Muhammad Ali, and the assistance for which he had asked was granted to him on his own terms. An army was sent to help him under Captain Cope and Captain Gingen (1751). The English also wrote to the Tonḍaimàṇ stating that they were in alliance with Muhammad Ali, whereupon the Tonḍaimàṇ sent under

Sinnappan Sérvaikàr a force of 400 horse and 3,000 Kallar infantry to Trichinopoly.

Siege of Arcot. The troops of Canda Sàhib outnumbered Muhammad Ali's by ten to one and the English battalion did not exceed 600 men, whereas the French soldiers numbered 900. Matters looked very grave, when Captain Clive attacked Arcot and thus compelled Canda Sàhib to send a large part (4,000 men) of his force from Trichinopoly to relieve that town. It was captured by Clive after a siege of about seven weeks.

Muhammad Ali's alliance with the Regent of Mysore. Muhammad Ali, without the knowledge of the English, now formed (November, 1751) an alliance with the Mysore General, Regent Nanjaràj or Nandiràja promising to cede to him on becoming Nawab all the tract of land from Trichinopoly to Cape Comorin. The Ràjà of Tanjore, who had till then been wavering, now declared for Muhammad Ali and sent a force to help him. Muhammad Ali's prospects thus became brighter.

Canda Sàhib slain. Major Lawrence and Captain Clive arrived about this time (March, 1752) at Trichinopoly and the French and Canda Sàhib had to give up the siege of the fort. Canda Sàhib was soon afterwards captured, and his head, which was cut off by Mánóji, the Tanjore general, was sent to Muhammad Ali (June, 1752). The war seemed to have come to a close. Major Lawrence soon afterwards left Trichinopoly, leaving a small force in the fort under the command of Captain Dalton.

The Mysore Regent claims the Trichinopoly country. The death of Canda Sàhib and the defeat of the French did not, however, as might have been expected, close the war. The Regent of Mysore now declared that the Nawab had sworn to deliver Trichinopoly to him, in consideration of his alliance, and now that Canda Sàhib was dead and the French were defeated, he claimed the fulfilment of the promise. The English, from whom this agreement had been carefully concealed, were mortified to hear of it.

Nandarāj was not to be put off and he formed the plan of reducing the garrison at Trichinopoly by starvation. The city was strongly blockaded by the Regent's army, and all means of obtaining provisions from the surrounding country were cut off.

The war was more or less a series of skirmishes for the supply of provisions to the fort, and the English found it very necessary to keep an open communication between Trichinopoly and the territory of the "Gentoo Prince Tondeman" which was "esteemed a granary of provisions for the garrison and the camp."

It was in these circumstances that the Tondaimàn showed his unswerving attachment to the cause of the Nawab and the English, by supplying the necessary provisions to the garrison during the siege.

Dupleix, finding this a good opportunity for improving the position of the French, proclaimed Rāja Sāhib, son of Canda Sahib, Nawab of the Carnatic, and sent French soldiers to help the Mysore Regent against the English at Trichinopoly (1753). The Mysoreans intercepted a party of sepoys who had been sent into the Tondaimàn's country for provisions. The Regent also bribed the chiefs and officers of the Tondaimàn and induced them to withhold the supply of provisions. The Tondaimàn wrote to Madras explaining the attitude of the Regent and soliciting a speedy despatch of a European detachment for the relief of Trichinopoly. Major Lawrence arrived there in May, 1753, persuaded the King of Tanjore to help Muhammad Ali, and took steps to open communications with Tanjore and the Tondaimàn's country for provisions.

To secure communication with Pudukkóttai, he occupied the intrenched camp at Fakir's Tope to the south of the Trichinopoly town. In July, 1753, the Nawab undertook a journey to the Tondaimàn's country to expedite the despatch of provisions. When they reached the Golden Rock near Trichinopoly, the enemy surrounded them, and in a general action

which ensued the Nawab was successful. Some days after this, Major Lawrence marched against the Mysoreans, and an engagement with them resulted in a complete victory over the French and the Mysoreans and the capture of the Golden Rock to the south of Trichinopoly. Thus by the determined and desperate gallantry of a handful of men the battle of the Golden Rock was won and Trichinopoly was saved. The enemy retreated and communications were opened with the Tonḍaimān and the Tanjore country. About the middle of September, 1753, there was again scarcity in camp and no convoys could be brought in without risking a general engagement; it was necessary therefore to engage the enemy with the utmost promptitude. Mainly as a result of a sudden attack which successfully repulsed the enemy who fled leaving behind large quantities of stores, Major Lawrence was able to get six months' provision in December, 1753. The enemy forces now attempted to take the fort by night, but were completely repulsed.

In February, 1754, the English sent a large detachment to escort about 3,000 bullocks loaded with military stores and provisions. It consisted of 100 grenadiers, 80 other Europeans, four field-pieces and 800 sepoy, and was inadequate to the protection of the convoy. The whole convoy—guns, military stores and £ 7,000 in money—was captured by the enemy. This was by far the severest blow that the English troops suffered during the course of the war.

Soon after this the Rāja of Tanjore ceased to send provisions, and discouraged his merchants from supplying them any longer. The Tonḍaimān's country therefore remained once again the only source for provisions. The French attempted in March, 1754 to attack the Magazines at Kīranūr; but they were repulsed by the sepoy stationed there.

Outrages in the Tonḍaimān country by the French and the Mysoreans. The enemy, baffled so long, thought it necessary to perform some exploit which might re-establish their reputation.

To attack the English in their camp would be fool-hardy, they determined therefore to wreak their vengeance on the Tonḍaimān whose attachment to the English had enabled them to stand their ground at Trichinopoly. Accordingly M. Mainville * with all his Europeans, 3,000 sepoy and 2,000 horse, marched (May, 1754) into the Puḍukkóṭṭai country with the intention of devastating it. The Tonḍaimān had made his previous dispositions for such an attack; and on the approach of the enemy, the inhabitants left the roofs of their houses, composed of bamboo and dry grass, to be burned by the enemy, the only injury (easily replaced in a single day) which they effected in this expedition, besides the destruction of a few bags of rice in the English depôt. They were vexed that they had with so much ado been able to do so little mischief in this country.

An English force with Muhammad Ali, the Nawab, and Major Lawrence, arrived soon afterwards and drove the French, who next turned their attention to Tanjore.

The Mysoreans and the Maráthas retire. Dupleix recalled. The Tonḍaimān soon afterwards joined the Nawab at Trichinopoly, and there were other engagements with the enemy for supplies of provisions. In July, 1754, Murári Row withdrew to his own country on a promise of payment of three lakhs of Rupees. The enemy had become weak, and in December the Nawab received a *firman* from the Nizam confirming him in the Government of Arcot and Trichinopoly. Dupleix was recalled to France (August, 1754), and there was a temporary suspension of war between the English and the French (October, 1754). The fighting about Trichinopoly was brought to a close when Nandirāj, the Mysore general, withdrew from Trichinopoly in April, 1755.

* Orme says that M. Maissin commanded the French forces at that time, but Col. Malleon, author of *the French in India* and of *Dupleix* (*Rulers of India* series), says, on the authority of French records, that M. Mainville was then in command and that M. Maissin did not assume command until after the arrival of Godehen to relieve Dupleix.

The Tonḍaimān's services acknowledged by the Nawāb. The help that was rendered by the Tonḍaimān was warmly acknowledged, and the Nawāb wrote to him in right Oriental form that "even if all the hair in his body could be made tongues, he could not fully describe the glory of the Tonḍaimān's help" and that "the acquisition of the splendid name he had derived was due to the good wishes of all his friends but especially of the Tonḍaimān, who heartily desired his good."

Both in anticipation of further help to be received from the Tonḍaimān and out of gratitude for assistance that had already been afforded, the Nawāb now empowered the Tonḍaimān to attack Maṇappārai and Nattam which had not helped him and annex parts of them to Puḍukkóṭṭai.

The Nawab's attempts to pacify Madura and Tinnevelly. After the subjugation of Trichinopoly, the Nawāb thought of subduing the countries of Madura and Tinnevelly. He applied to the English for help. Colonel Heron was ordered to march with all his men and 1,000 sepoy to compel these people to pay the revenues justly due to the Nawāb. Mahfuz Khan, Muhammad Ali's elder brother, followed with one thousand horse, and the Company's sepoy were in charge of Yusuf Khan. A force was despatched by the Tonḍaimān to Madura to assist the Nawab, which joined Colonel Heron at Maṇappārai, helped the Colonel in subduing Lakki Nāyak of Kumāravāḍi and marched with him to Madura. Soon afterwards Colonel Heron formed an alliance with the Sétupati, but it was given up on the Rāja of Tanjore and the Tonḍaimān protesting against it. Madura and Tinnevelly were easily brought under subjection and given over to Mahfuz Khan for an inadequate rent of 15 lakhs of Rupees.

The Tonḍaimān stood very high at this time in the favour both of the Nawab and the English, and the Nawab informed the Tonḍaimān as early as November, 1752 that "he saw that the English gentlemen were as much familiar with the Tonḍaimān

as himself and that scarcely any man higher in rank would expect the respect and attention that the Tonḍaimān's Vakil (agent or representative) received at the hands of the Governor Bahadur."

The Tonḍaimān exempted from payment of tribute. It was about this time that the Tonḍaimān was granted the special privilege and honour of exemption from the payment of any tribute to the Nawab.

Further troubles in Madura and Tinnevelly. The Tonḍaimān's help to the Nawab. Mahfuz Khan possessed extraordinary powers as Renter but his administration was a total failure. The Poligars except those of Eṭṭayāpuram and Pānjālaṅkuricchi, who had given hostages to Col. Heron for the payment of their tributes, entirely prevented Mahfuz Khan from establishing any Government. The English therefore sent Yusuf Khan in 1756 to help Mahfuz Khan in quelling the disturbances. He marched to Madura through Pudukkóṭṭai where he was joined by some horse, infantry and Kaḷḷar soldiers of the Tonḍaimān. Most of the Poligars were soon reduced to temporary submission, but on the arrival of Mahfuz Khan at Madura from Tinnevelly, his men, with his connivance, it is believed, tore down the Company's colours, turned the three companies of English sepoys which composed the garrison, out of the Fort and proclaimed Mahfuz Khan Governor of the two districts of Madura and Tinnevelly. The English Company thereupon got from the Nawab the management of the two provinces for three years and appointed one Tírttārappa Mudali as the Renter in the place of Mahfuz Khan. Mahfuz grew indignant and actively leagued himself with the discontented Poligars and also sought an alliance with Hyder Ali, who was then rising into prominence as a Mysore general and had then a force at Dindigul. Captain Caillaud was therefore ordered in January, 1757 to march to Madura to support the Mudali and Yusuf Khan. He marched to Madura through the Tonḍaimān's

country and on the 25th of March arrived at Annavàsal where he was joined by 1,000 of the Tonḍaimàn's horse and 100 of his Kallars.

The next war between the English and the French.*
Troubles at Trichinopoly. The Tondaiman's services to the English. Meanwhile war had been declared (May, 1756) between the French and the English in Europe and news of this reached India early in 1757. The French attempted to excite disaffection at Trichinopoly, and the Governor applied for help to the Tonḍaimàn stating that the design of the French was to cause disturbance at Trichinopoly and in the Tonḍaimàn's country.

The Tonḍaimàn detached at first about 500 musketeers, and afterwards "a proper force." Meanwhile Captain Caillaud, who was then besieging Madura, left the management of affairs there to Yusuf Khan, and marched to Trichinopoly (May, 1757).

He skilfully entered the fort, and on the next day the Tonḍaimàn's troops also entered it. The enemy retired to Pondicherry, and Captain Caillaud, in July, seeing that Trichinopoly was quite safe, marched back to Madura where he was not very successful. Two attempts to storm the fort of Madura failed, and in September, 1757, he took possession of the town on payment of Rs. 1,70,000. Owing to the imminence of further hostilities with the French, he was recalled to Madras in October, 1757, and with him Yusuf Khan, who might have brought the country under control. Madura and Tinnevely were again in a state of anarchy and the chief Poligars acted just as they pleased.

Lally in Tanjore. The Tonḍaimàn helps the Tanjore Ràja. Lally, a brilliant but headstrong soldier of France, who had been appointed to conduct the war against the English in India, was in need of funds, and marched in 1758 against the Ràja of Tanjore, from whom a large sum of money was due to the French.

* The Seven Years' War which was fought in Europe, America, India and on the Seas.

He besieged the fort, and the Tonḍaimān sent 1,500 men to help the Rājā against the French. Lally now received a message from Pondicherry that that place was in danger and was making preparations for retreating from Tanjore, when a general sally was made from the Fort consisting of the men of the Tonḍaimān and other Poligars with all the Tanjore sepoys and horse and the men from Trichinopoly. After a smart firing of some hours, the French abandoned their camp, all their cannon, mortars, ammunition, etc., and retreated towards Kàraikāl.

Siege of Madras. The Tonḍaimān's forces in the Chingleput country. Lally intended to make a determined effort to drive the English out of the Carnatic. He captured Arcot and was making arrangements to march against Madras. The Tonḍaimān was informed that he should send as large a force as possible and that "the more troops he sent the more reputation he would gain."

In December, 1758, Lally appeared before Madras, occupied Black Town and laid siege to Fort St. George. The siege continued till the 16th of February, 1759. During the progress of the siege, Yusuf Khan was in the Chingleput country with the forces of the Tonḍaimān and of Tanjore. He first ravaged and destroyed the country about Conjeeveram, and threatened the French convoys. He then moved to St. Thomas' Mount, whence a large French force caused his forces (Kallars and others) to retreat to Chingleput, but he continued to harass the French. On 16th February a squadron of English ships were in sight. The French army was worn out between its work in the trenches and the pursuit of the elusive forces of Yusuf. Lally who was unable to coordinate his efforts, quitted the trenches and abandoned the siege.

To gratify the wishes of the men from Tanjore and the Tonḍaimān's forces, Preston, the English general, consented to march with them into the French districts round Conjeevaram, in which they continued several days plundering and ravaging.

Some more horse were now sent by the Tonḍaimàn. Yusuf Khan marched with his own sepoy and horse and the men of the Tonḍaimàn to Conjeeveram, where he attacked the last remnants of the French cavalry and drove it back. Conjeeveram was soon afterwards taken from the French, and in its capture the Tonḍaimàn's men took an active part.

In 1760, the French made an alliance with Hyder Ali of Mysore. Hyder's brother made an attempt to take Trichinopoly and Śrīraṅgam. The Tonḍaimàn helped the English officer at Trichinopoly with 100 horse and 1,000 musketeers. He also "detached a part of his forces, upon Captain Smith's application, to assist his operations in the Mysore Districts." The English marched against Karūr which, in the words of the Tonḍaimàn, "might be deemed next to the fort of Trichinopoly", with 50 Europeans, 100 sepoy from Trichinopoly and 600 horse and "1000 peons armed with match-locks mostly sent by Tonḍaimàn", and after the auxiliaries had most effectually plundered and destroyed the districts dependent on Karūr, "by the blessing of gods and the brave endeavour of Mr. Richard Smith",* they captured the Fort (September, 1760).

From this time the tide turned steadily in favour of the English until finally in April 1761, the war was brought to a close by the surrender to the English by the French of their last remaining possessions in Southern India.

Trouble in the Madura country. We must turn our attention now to the affairs in the Madura country. Yusuf Khan had been appointed Renter of Madura and Tinnevely, but his attempts to restore order were frustrated by Mahfuz Khan, the Nawab's brother who, actively allying himself with the Poligars, continually harassed him. The Tonḍaimàn sent a large force to the help of Yusuf. The Governor finding that all the efforts of Yusuf Khan to settle the country would be futile so long as Mahfuz Khan remained in the Tinnevely country;

* Letter No. 355 of 1760, *Madras Military country correspondence*.

prevailed upon him to leave the country for Trichinopoly, promising to effect a reconciliation between himself and his brother, the Nawab, and to get a handsome annual allowance settled upon him. Mahfuz Khan set out from Madura and halted for a time at the capital of the Tonḍaimān, "full of suspicions of the evil intentions of the Nawab." On receiving assurances of safety, Mahfuz soon afterwards left Pudukkóttai, and renewed his friendship with the Nawab.

After the departure of Mahfuz Khan from Madura, Yusuf succeeded in restoring order in the country and introduced a system of equitable government almost without a parallel among the rulers of the day. The rent was raised to nine lakhs of Rupees in 1761, but he was not able, after defraying the charges of collection, to pay the enhanced rent for which he had engaged, especially as he was averse from adopting the means that other Renters would have pursued. He therefore decided upon casting off his allegiance to the Nawab and the English, and making himself independent. The consciousness of great military talents, the strength of his position and the successful example of Hyder, who had made himself the ruler of Mysore in 1761, seem to have induced him to make such an attempt. He omitted to pay his rents, and maintained a force which was much superior to what he actually required. The English had therefore to make preparations to punish Yusuf Khan.

In July, 1763, he was declared a rebel, and in August a combined English and Indian army set out for Madura. The Tonḍaimān sent his forces with Major Preston. Yusuf, who found negotiation useless, resolved to carry on the struggle in his own ground. He threw himself into the Madura Fort and baffled all the efforts of the Nawab and the English.

Yusuf Khan might have prolonged his resistance for an indefinite time, but he was treacherously seized and put to death.

Other services of the Tondaiman to the Nawab. After the conclusion of the war with Yusuf Khan, the Nawab wanted the English to help him in subjugating the Poligars of Ariyalūr and Uḍayarpālayam in the Trichinopoly country. These had arrears of tribute to pay and were suspected of having hidden treasures. When it was found that these Zamindars had no intention of paying the arrears, the Nawab applied for help to the Tondaiman who sent "200 horse and 4000 Kallars and Sepoys." With the help of these and the British troops, the Nawab easily captured these places.

The Nawab against Tanjore. In 1762 the Nawab brought a series of charges against the Rāja of Tanjore, pointing out to the Governor that large arrears of tribute were due from him, that the Tondaiman was ready to send him the help he had applied for and that an English force should be sent to conquer Tanjore. The Governor, not approving of the Nawab's proposal, explained to him that the English were in India not to make conquests, but "to support every lawful government and to maintain peace in the country so that the people might be happy and their trade flourish." The Rāja of Tanjore offered to pay the dues in instalments and desired the confirmation of his possession of the Kóvilāḍi district. These terms were guaranteed by the Governor of Madras, and accepted by the Nawab. There was thus no necessity for the Tondaiman to send a force against Tanjore.

The Tanjore Raja and Hyder. In 1769, Hyder, who had made himself the ruler of Mysore, invaded the Tanjore and Trichinopoly countries, and the Rāja of Tanjore was required to oppose him and send against him 2,000 horse, 2,000 sepoy and a number of Kallars. Hyder reminded the Rāja of the loss of 30 or 40 lakhs of Rupees to which he had been subjected by the Rāja's sending a force to help captain Richard Smith in taking Karūr, and threatened that unless a large sum was paid to him, he would "not only burn the whole country but cut off the whole

body of the inhabitants and Brahmins." Instead of sending men to the assistance of the English the Ràja intrigued with Hyder Ali, to whom he wrote "that he was depending on his firm friendship."

We may contrast with this conduct of the Ràja of Tanjore the action of the Tonḍaimàn. Like the former, he also received a letter for help, and whereas Tanjore did not send "so much as a single man" the Tonḍaimàn lost no time in fitting out a force and sending it to help the English. The Governor was very much gratified with the readiness which the Tonḍaimàn displayed. In anger at the help that the Tonḍaimàn sent to the English, Hyder committed ravages in the State.

Relations with the Madras Governor. The Tonḍaimàn celebrated the marriage of his son Ràya Raghunàtha Tonḍaimàn on the 25th of April, 1761, and "agreeably to old custom sent the Governor a garment and the customary betel leaves and arecanuts." The Governor in return sent two pieces of broadcloth and a carpet as wedding gifts to the bridegroom. In April, 1764, the Tonḍaimàn sent a specially made dress to the Governor "as an outward mark of his inward friendship", which the Governor kindly accepted.

Character of Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman. After an unprecedented career of almost incessant warfare for about forty years, Vijaya Raghunàtha Ràya Tonḍaimàn expired towards the close of the year 1769. If his predecessor, Ràya Raghunàtha Tonḍaimàn, was the founder of the State, Vijaya Raghunàtha Ràya was its consolidator. He established Pudukkóttai as a State that counted as a power in the Carnatio—almost equal to that of Tanjore. That he was able to accomplish this difficult work was due to his extraordinary shrewdness. He enjoyed the highest regard of all the Company's officers from the Governor downwards.

The Tonḍaimān's private character was also very attractive. He was a very devout ruler, who passed much of his time in contemplation. He seems however to have also paid great attention to the internal affairs of the State and improved the resources of the country.

The Tonḍaimān known as "Sivagñānapuram Durai." Vijaya Raghunātha Rāya Tonḍaimān was popularly known as "Sivagñānapuram Durai", as he was fond of spending much of his time in a house which he had built for himself at Sivagñānapuram, a few furlongs to the south-east of the town. He must have built a residence there after his Palace was demolished by Canda Sāhib.

An account of the Tonḍaimān's spiritual Guru—Sadāśiva Brahméndra Sarasvatī. About 1738, the Tonḍaimān obtained a spiritual *guru* and in accordance with his directions instituted many charities, which have been reverentially maintained to the present day. The name of the *guru* is Sadaśiva Brahméndra, and to his blessing is attributed the continued prosperity of the State.

Sadāśiva was born more than two hundred years ago. After mastering Sanskrit literature and grammar, he renounced the world.

He was fortunate in finding soon afterwards a proper *guru*, in Paramasivéndra, the Śaṅkarācārya of the time at Kumbakōnam. He learned Védānta and Yoga under him and also acquired some knowledge of music. He composed about this time a large number of valuable works on Advaita Védānta philosophy and many *kirtanas* or hymns both devotional and philosophical which are very popular in the State. In his discussions with his *guru*, and his brother-disciples he is said to have very often expressed himself vehemently, which practice once drew from his preceptor the remark "Sadāśiva, when will you learn to close your mouth and keep mute?" He understood at once his want of self-control, and, begging to be excused, made a vow never to open his mouth afterwards,

After this Sadāśiva wandered from place to place, never halting at any place for any length of time. He is said to have gone as far north as Mysore and the Northern Circars, to have lived in the innermost recesses of forests for months together, and to have been once in a state of trance (*samādhi*) for two or three months with the flood of the Kàvéri running over him all the time and to have been brought back to his senses when somebody who was digging near the spot casually wounded him and drew blood from his body.

About 1738, Vijaya Raghunātha Rāya Tonḍaimān had the good fortune to receive spiritual instruction from Sadāśiva. It is not definitely known where the meeting between the ruler and the Yógi took place. The Tonḍaimān, immediately on seeing the Yógi, knew him to be a great sage, and made his obeisance to him requesting spiritual instruction. The sage thereupon wrote on the sand by his side the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti Mantram*, i. e., the prayer to Śiva in his form as the great Teacher of wisdom, and a direction that the Tonḍaimān should have as his spiritual guru, Mahābhāshyam Góṇalakṛṣṇa Śāstriār, a fellow student of the Yógi in his boy-hood.

Góṇalakṛṣṇa Śāstriār was sent for, and made the Palace guru. The Tonḍaimān was required by the guru, for the expiation of his past sins and for the security of the future welfare and prosperity of the State, to institute the worship of Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the Palace, and to arrange for the annual conduct of the *Navaratri* or Dassara festival, when Durgā, Lakṣmī, and Sarasvatī were to be worshipped and a large number of Brahmins were to be fed and given doles of rice and money, etc., and for the distribution of *Svayampākams* or doles of rice and other components of a Hindu meal to a number of Brahmins every day and to all girls that might apply therefor on every Friday. It must have been about this time that the *Ammankāṣu*, the State coin, of which a large number is distributed during every Dassara, was first struck. The charities that were then instituted continue to be maintained to this day with great care. The sand on which

the *Dakṣiṇmūrti Mantram* and the direction for the appointment of Mahābhāṣyam Góṇalakṣṇa Sāstriār as the spiritual guru were written is preserved in the Palace.

After the incident referred to above Sadāśiva again resumed a wandering life and ultimately sank into eternal repose at Nerūr near Karūr. The Tonḍaimān had a temple built over his tomb, and endowed it with two villages in the Tirumayam Taluk.

The Tonḍaimān's charities. The Tonḍaimān was liberal in his gifts to temples and Brahmins. In 1732 he granted to Brahmins the village of Kīmanūr in Tirumayam Taluk as *ardhamānyam* or half-rent free. In 1736, he granted certain lands for the upkeep of the temple at Tennaṅguḍi. In 1738, the year in which he received spiritual instruction, he granted lands in Maṇalvayalēndal to one Taviṭṭuppaṇḍāram, a spiritual teacher of some non-Brahmin sects, who had his *Maṭham* on the banks of the Kāvéri at Trichinopoly. In 1749, he made some gifts to the temple at Vaitṭūr along with Namana Tonḍaimān, ruler of Kolattūr. He is known to have built two chatrams—one of them about 1753 A. D., to the north of the Kuṇḍār and the other at Tirugókaṇam. About 1763 he founded a chatram at Benares.

The sixtieth year of the foundation of the *Tonḍaimān Rāj*, and the elevation of the Tonḍaimān's family to royal dignity (1746) was, according to the palace astrologers, an eventful year; any evil planetary influences that might mar it could only be averted by the Rāja divesting himself of his royal dignity and leaving his court—first to lead the life of an ascetic for sixty days and next to be a wandering mendicant for as many days more. When he was going through the mendicant part of the penance he was induced by some opponents of Christianity to issue orders for the destruction of the churches in his State, as Christianity was reported to undermine the faith of the people. The order was however cancelled through the intercession of the Rāja's brother-in-law.

The Raja's ministers. The chief administrative officer, or, as he was called, *Káryakarta* (meaning *agent*) of Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya was Vilvanátha Pillai, son of Kurunta Pillai, minister of the previous ruler. Ékanáyaka Mudaliyar of Kunriyúr in the Kuḍumiyámalai tract was the second and was succeeded by his famous son, Subrahmaṇya Mudaliyâr* who is praised in the *Virálimaḷaikuravañji*.

RÁYA RAGHUNÁTHA TONDAIMÁN (1769—1789).

Contemporary Rulers.

Carnatic.

Muhammad Ali (1752—95).

Tanjore.

Tuljaji (1763—87).

Amár Singh (1787—98).

Ramnád.

Muttu Rámalinga (1760—94).

Mysore.

Hyder Ali Khán (1761—82).

Tipu Sultán (1782—99).

Port St. George—Governors.

Charles Bouchier (1767—70).

Jonas Du Pre (1770—73).

Alexander Wynch (1773—75).

Lord Pigot (1775—76).

George Stratton (1776—77).

John Whitehill (1777—78).

Sir Thomas Rumboldt (1778—80).

John Whitehill (1780).

Charles Smith (1780—81).

Lord Macartney (1781—85).

Alexander Davidson (1785—86).

Sir Archibald Campbell (1786—90).

Ráya Raghunátha Tondaimán was born in 1738 and was 31 years of age when he was installed as the ruler of Pudukkóttai. He had eleven wives, one of whom gave birth to a daughter. He had no son. His ministers were Muttukkamára Pillai and Venkappier, otherwise called Venkat Row.

* See P. S. I. 973 at Virálar, A. D. 1745.

He inherited from his father his attachment to the English and the Nawab, and we therefore find him engaged in wars on the side of the latter.

Invasion of Ramnad by the Tanjore Raja. In January, 1771, the Ràja of Tanjore despatched an army against Ramnad, to recover from the ruler of that country certain tracts which he averred that the Ramnad General had taken from him. He obtained the help of the Dutch at Negapatam by promising to cede to them two seaports, Tondi and Kīlakkarai. It was believed that he had designs also against the Tonḍaimàṇ's country, but, for the time being, he requested the Tonḍaimàṇ not to help the Maravars. The Sétupati was then a minor, and the Ràni, who was the Regent, made every preparation for resisting the Ràja of Tanjore. The Nawab was informed by the Ramnad Dalavài of the designs of the Ràja and requested to send a force to oppose him. No help was however sent by the Nawab, nor did the Nawab permit the Tonḍaimàṇ to go to the help of Ramnad. The Ràja of Tanjore therefore found it easy to reach Ramnad and besiege the fort. Terms of peace were proposed by the Ràni, which were accepted by the Ràja of Tanjore. Having thus settled the Ramnad affair, the Ràja next turned his attention to Śivagaṅga, requiring from its ruler the restoration of some elephants, etc. He had, however, to return to his capital, which he found was about to be attacked by the Nawab.

The Tondaiman's services to the Nawab. *The Nawab's first war with Tanjore.* The reasons assigned for the first war with Tanjore (in 1771) were that the Ràja did not send his forces to help the Nawab in the war with Hyder Ali but allied himself with Hyder, that he, a tributary prince, attacked Ramnad and Śivagaṅga which were under the Nawab's protection, and that he had delayed payment of the tribute. The Ràja and the Nawab could not come to an agreement, and the English, who thought it "most unreasonable that the Ràja should possess the finest part of the country and yet pay nothing for its defence",

determined to support the Nawab. Thereupon an army marched against Tanjore from Trichinopoly. The Tonḍaimān, who was applied to for help, sent 200 horse and 4000 infantry. The army arrived at Vallam, five miles from Tanjore, and captured the place. Tanjore was next attacked and preparations were made for an assault, when the Rāja agreed to surrender.

The Nawab's war with Ramnad and Śivagaṅga. The Nawab's next object was the subjugation of Ramnad and Śivagaṅga, the rulers of which provinces sent neither men nor provisions to him in his war with Tanjore. As requested by the Nawab, the English determined to send a force against Ramnad and Śivagaṅga. The Tonḍaimān sent an army of 200 horse and 5,000 infantry under Sardars Sadāśivarāyar, Appāvaiyan, Appaiyan and Ādinarāyapaian, which made a surprise entry into the Ramnad territory in May 1772. The fort of Ramnad was stormed and captured in a few days, and the country reduced. The Nawab removed the Sétupati, who was a boy nine years old, and his mother and sister to Trichinopoly and kept them under surveillance.

The force then marched against Śivagaṅga and encamped near Kālaiyārkóvil. The Tonḍaimān sent a force of 300 horse and 5,000 infantry under Sardar Kṛṣṇa with 5,000 choppers to clear the forests. The ruler was defeated and killed. The Rāni and her advisers, the Marudus, fled to Dindigul where they sought the protection of Hyder Ali. Both Ramnad and Śivagaṅga thus fell under the direct management of the Nawab and were handed over to a Renter.

The Nawab's second war with Tanjore. The Tanjore Rāja deposed. The Nawab next thought of annexing Tanjore to his dominions and brought forward a series of charges against the Rāja, for instance, that he had tried to bring the Marāthas of Poona to the South to fight against the Nawab, had mortgaged some districts of the Tanjore country to the Dutch and the Danes, and given help to the enemies of the Nawab. The

Council in Madras, after much discussion, came to the resolution that Tanjore should be reduced. A force under General Smith was accordingly assembled in July 1773 at Trichinopoly for the subjugation of the country. The Tonḍaimān sent a force consisting of 400 horse and 7,000 foot under the Rāja's uncle Rājagópala Tonḍaimān and Sardar Sadāsivarāyar. The army encamped near the fort of Tanjore, which was captured in September. The Rāja and his family, Mānóji, the General, and a great many people of consequence were taken prisoners, and costly articles were seized, including the jewels of the Rānī, amounting in value, according to the Rāja, to one crore five lakhs and ten thousand pagodas. The Rāja was deposed, and the fort and the country of Tanjore were made over to the Nawab.

A portion of the Paṭṭukkóṭṭai Taluk assigned to the Tonḍaimān. Soon after the occupation of the Tanjore country, the Nawab, finding himself unable to pay the batta due to the men of the Tonḍaimān from 1770, assigned to him a tract of land in the Paṭṭukkóṭṭai Taluk of the Tanjore District, containing 142 villages and two *choukis* or customs-houses, and estimated to yield an annual income of about 53,000 *caikrams**. Among the conditions relating to the grant were that the Tonḍaimān should pay the expenses of the forces sent by him from 1770 to 1773, and that he should be ever ready without requiring pay or allowances to send to any place as many soldiers as might be required. The tract was returned to the Rāja of Tanjore in 1776, when Tuljāji was restored to his throne, as will be mentioned later. It appears that, as stated by the Rāja of Tanjore, "in spite of the great friendship the Nabob had for the Tonḍaimān", he did not permit him the enjoyment of Kīlānilai.

The Tonḍaimān sends a force to help the Nawab against the Dutch. The Dutch at Negapatam had taken possession of Nāgūr, near Negapatam, on payment of about 16 lakhs of Rupees

* A silver coin, $\frac{1}{16}$ of a gold pagoda in value.

to the Ràja of Tanjore for the liquidation of the debts that the Ràja had incurred to meet the expenses of the last two wars. The Nawab protested against this to the Governor, pointing out that the Ràja had no right to sell or mortgage any portion of his dominions without the consent of his master, the Nawab, and requested the English to help him with a force for the capture of Nàgúr. The Tondaimàn was again applied to for help, and he sent a force of 200 horse and 4,000 foot under Sardars Sadà-śivaràyar, Appàvaiyan and Ādinàrayanaiyan against the *Uḷandājāti* as the Hollanders or the Dutch were called. The Dutch, however, were unwilling to engage in hostilities and relinquished in November, 1773 the territory on the Nawab repaying to them the money that had been paid by them to the Ràja of Tanjore.

Tuljāji reinstated as Ràja of Tanjore. Meanwhile the Court of Directors in England had gone through the papers relating to Tanjore and the two Marava countries. They signified their displeasure with the conduct of the Madras Council in connection with the war against these, expressed themselves "shocked to find their troops employed on such frivolous pretences against Ramnad and Sivaganga", and ordered the immediate restoration of Tanjore to the Ràja subject to certain conditions. Lord Pigot, the Governor, went in person to Tanjore, and formally installed in April, 1776, as the Ràja of Tanjore, Tuljāji, deposed in 1773. The Nawab, of course, was thoroughly disgusted with these proceedings, but no heed was paid to any of his complaints.

There were now some disputes between the Tanjore Ràja and the Tondaimàn, in connection evidently with the attempts of the Ràja to take back the villages of Tanjore which the Tondaimàn had received from the Nawab.

These troubles continued in 1777, and the Nawab wrote to the Governor in February, 1777, pointing out that the latter's representation to the Ràja of Tanjore had had no effect. The

Rāja of Tanjore informed the Governor that the Tonḍaimān's people were again harassing the ryots in his country and plundering the villages. A letter was sent to Lt. Col. Horne at Tanjore desiring him to protect the inhabitants of Tanjore from the Tonḍaimān's people. There the matter rested for some time.

Hyder's Second Invasion of the Carnatic. Hyder had declared in favour of the French. The English conquest of Mahé, through which port he had been getting stores of war from France exasperated him. He formed an alliance with the Marāthas and prepared for war. In July, 1780, when the English had taken no steps to meet the emergency, Hyder descended 'like a thunderbolt' into the Carnatic, devastated the country on all sides, and in less than a fortnight captured a chain of fortresses that secured his convoys from Mysore.

Almost every chief in the South was in revolt against the Nawab and the English. It seemed as if all the country wished for a change. Uḍaiyārpālayam, Ramnad, Śivaganga, Tinnevely and Madura were all up in arms. The situation at this time was nearly as desperate as the condition of affairs during the siege of Trichinopoly (1751—4) when the fort seemed to be at its last gasp.

The Tonḍaimān was pained to see that almost everybody was in open revolt against the English, felt that he ought to prevail upon such of them as would listen to him to remain true to the Company, and wrote to the Governor to say that the time had come when his influence and loyalty to the English could be well tested.

Hyder Ali in the Tanjore country. In May, 1781, Hyder crossed the Coleroon and was within ten miles of Tanjore. He overran all parts of the country, and on the 23rd July the whole of the Tanjore Kingdom was in Hyder's hands with the exception of the fort of Tanjore. He placed garrisons in most of the forts and defensible temples. The Rev. Schwartz thus wrote

about Hyder's atrocities:—"The idols.....were taken away, the houses burnt and the cattle driven away; and what afflicted many thousand parents unspeakably more was that Hyder sent their best children away" (to be circumcised and turned Muham-madans).

Hyder Ali prevented from entering the Tonḍaimān's country. Hyder's forces entered the Tonḍaimān's country near Ādanak-kóṭṭai but were decisively defeated in the region of Śóttuppālai and Ādanakkóṭṭai by Sardār Maṇṇa Vélār (1781). When the news of this victory of the Tonḍaimān reached Sir Eyre Coote, the Commander-in-Chief, he wrote to the Tonḍaimān that "the happy information of his success which he had been able to collect from all quarters was that the Tonḍaimān had bravely and gallantly routed and punished the enemy that infested his country and that he had made some hundreds of the enemy's horse soldiers his captives", and that "he was gratified beyond measure to hear of the success."

Hyder's men entered the State from the Trichinopoly side also. The Rāja fought with them at Malampatti and 'cut off their heads.'^{*} It is said that the people of Pérāmbūr cut open the bund of an irrigation tank and flooded the approach to the village. The new channel thus formed was called *Hyder Váik-kál* (channel).

One of the horsemen of Hyder, whose name is not known, ravaged the territory. His atrocities were so cruel and so long remembered that Telugu mothers in Pudukkóṭṭai used to hush children to sleep by frightening them saying *Onṭi gurram Vādu otsāru* meaning "The single horseman is coming." The Tonḍaimān hunted him out of his forest resort and killed him.

^{*} மலம்பட்டி யுட்கொண்ட ஓர் வீர சேனையு
பிடுங்கி வெட்டிச் சாகுபட்டிக்குப் பின்னால்.

"The Tonḍaimān who fought with Hyder's forces at Malampatti and cut off the heads of his men."—*Venkaṭṭa Śrīvāṅkār Vāṇandān*.

This exploit of the Tonḍaimān is sung in two dance-songs, *Ambunāṭṭuvalandān* and *Veṅkannaśervaikār Valandān*.*

The Tonḍaimān captures Kīlānilai and two other forts. In accordance with instructions received from Sir Eyre Coote, Col. Braithwaite and Col. Wood, and also from the Nawab's representative at Trichinopoly, the Tonḍaimān sent a very strong force into the Tanjore country and captured the fortresses of Kīlānilai, Araṇṭāṅgi and Paṭṭukkóṭṭai. He was informed that "it had been decided that two guns, 300 balls and the requisite quantity of powder should be presented to him (in recognition of his services)" and that "as they could not afford to defray the charges of the Tonḍaimān's army, he was authorised to enjoy the three forts of Puttoocottah, Ardangy and Keelanelly until his expenses were refunded."

Tipu in the South.—In February, 1782, Col. Braithwaite, who had resumed command, was some miles to the east of Kumbakónam with a force of more than 1,600 men, when he was surprised by Tipu, and after twenty-six hours of desperate fighting, his detachment was completely defeated. In September, 1782, the condition of affairs at Tanjore was considered critical, and in November, 1782, the Rāja was required "to join in a just and necessary measure for the extinction of the enemy."

Tipu's attempt to seduce the Tonḍaimān. In November of this year, another attempt was made by Tipu to entice the Tonḍaimān to his side. He offered to put the Tonḍaimān in possession of Tanjore, Ramnad or Aravakkuricchi, if he ceased to help the English and joined his side. The Tonḍaimān

* மக்தைப் பித்தொரு விசமிதற்கு
கூடுதலாய்த் துருப்புகள் எட்டின
குந்தரஞ்சிறைகள் ஒருமயை வச்சை
பற்றித்தொட்டிப் பளிச் சூழ்நெருங்கினார்.

"The Tonḍaimān who killed the lone horseman who rode without a companion, after driving him out of a forest in the Virálmalai country so dense with trees that not a pin could be thrust in."

communicated the offer to the Governor, expressing his devotedness to the Nawab and the Company. The Governor wrote to him in reply (30th March, 1783) that "in his conduct with regard to Tippoo's letter, the Tonḍaimān had acted with wisdom and foresight", and communicated to him the intelligence that "Tippoo had been obliged to fly from the Carnatic with all his forces into those countries which his father had usurped."

The Tonḍaimān's army marches towards Seringapatam. In January, 1783, the English decided to take the offensive against Tipu who had become Sultan of Mysore on the death of his father in December, 1782. They attacked Bednore and Mangalore with an army from Bombay and thus compelled Tipu to return to his country to defend his forts. The Tonḍaimān sent a force (March, 1783,) under Sardār Umanaiya with a Vakil, Kottayāchāri, against Seringapatam. Karūr, Aravakkuricchi and Dindigul were captured. In November, 1783, the army reached Pālghāt which was also taken. The army next marched to Coimbatore, and Col. Fullarton, the Commander, was making arrangements to proceed to Seringapatam when Tipu, finding that he could not resist the English, offered terms, and the war was terminated by the *Treaty of Mangalore* in March, 1784.

The Tonḍaimān's men praised by Col. Fullarton. Col. Fullarton, writing after the conclusion of the war to the Tonḍaimān, informed him that "he was sending back his Vakil Kottayāchāri and the Commandant with the battalion", that "he had the pleasure to inform him that they with the whole of their heart had been very careful and diligent in the late war", that "he expressed his thanks to the Commandant before his battalion for his able services", and that he had requested the Tonḍaimān's men "to take a pair of standards and a pair of guns as a mark of his appreciation of their services" and requested that the Tonḍaimān "would treat both Kottayāchāri and the Commandant with great favour and not make any default in that respect".

Disputes with Tanjore. From 1781 to 1785 the Ràja of Tanjore and the Tonḍaimàn were engaged in disputes relating to the occupation of Kīlānilai, and some minor matters. All the differences were composed in 1785 through the intervention of the Madras Government except the quarrel relating to Kīlānilai.

The Nawab's war with Sivaganga. The Tondaiman's services. In 1789 the Tonḍaimàn was asked by the English to help in a campaign against Śivagaṅga. The management of the country was in the hands of two brothers, known as Cinna Marudu and Periya (or Vellaiya) Marudu.

The Nawab wrote to the Governor in November 1786, complaining of the intolerable conduct of Cinna Marudu and the utter misrule in the country and requested that a military force might be sent to chastise the refractory and rebellious Śérvaikàr. The Governor agreed with the Nawab that the Śérvaikàr should be put down, and the Tonḍaimàn was informed by the Nawab that he should take as many fighting men as he could spare and join those of the Company under the command of Colonel Stuart, who would march to Śivagaṅga to reduce the country.

Colonel Stuart wrote to the Tonḍaimàn in February, 1789 to state that "the corps of Captain Knox would be in his country in three days" and that he should furnish him with provisions and "show him by-ways for his march". Kollaṅgudi, near Śivagaṅga, was first captured, and later (June, 1789) Kālaiyàrkóvil, the stronghold of the ruler. Cinna Marudu left the woods and retired westwards. After the conclusion of the campaign, General Stuart wrote to the Tonḍaimàn that "the business was happily closed, which he owed to the Tonḍaimàn's help and Divine Mercy", that "Oomaniah* was very careful in all respects", that "whenever occasion required his services he was very ready with his force to hazard his life" and that "he had

* *Umanayya* mentioned in the Persian letter was *U. M. Appaiyar* a Sardar of the Tonḍaimàn's army.

brought to the notice of the Nabob and the Company the brave services of his men and the supplies that he had received from him of the requisite provision and cattle". It appears from a report of General Horne to the Governor (November, 1789) that soon after General Stuart left Śivagaṅga, leaving a regiment there, Cinna Marudu again returned to his country and resumed his customary depredations in the neighbouring countries.

Death of the Tondaiman. His character. In December, 1789, Raghunātha Rāya Tondaimān died. In his devoted attachment to the English and the Nawab, he in no way fell short of his predecessor, Vijaya Raghunātha Rāya Tondaimān. To use his own words, "it was his determination as long as he continued in this world not to deviate a hair's breadth in allegiance to the Circar and the Company". "The Nawab showed to him greater favour than to any other" and "the Tondaimāns were honoured by being given seats near the relatives of the Nawab".

The Tondaimān's charities. The Tondaimān's palace was at Śivānandapuram, half a mile to the north of the Town. He is therefore popularly known as *Śivānandapuram Durai*. He continued to maintain the charities instituted by his predecessors. In 1785, the Rāja endowed lands at Pillamaṅgalam for the God at Kīvēlūr (modern Kivaḷūr near Negapatam). In 1787, he granted Aiyankuḷam or Rājagopālasamudram near Mullūr and Kumāramaṅgalam, both rent-free, to Brahmīns.* In 1788, he assigned lands to Ahmad Saheb Gurukkal, Imām (?) of the mosque at Lakshmanpaṭṭi, on the orders of the Nawab.† Four chatrams were established during this reign.‡ One was founded at Ayippaṭṭi near Vārappūr (1779) by Nallakāttāyi, a step-mother of the Ruler. Kallākóṭṭai Āyi, one of the Rānis established a chatram at Onānguḍi (1783)

* Copper plate grants.

† P. S. I. 978.

‡ The Statistical Account of Pudukkóṭṭai (1813).

and Muttalagammāl, another Rāṇi, at Ichiyāḍi. Tirumalai Tonḍaimān, the ruler's uncle and Chinnaranmaṇai Jāgīrdar founded the *Chinnaiyāchatram* on the Tanjōre road.

VIJAYA RAGHUNĀTHA TONḌAIMĀN (1789—1807).

Contemporary Ruler.

Carnatic.

Muhammad Ali Wallajdh (1752—95).

Umdat-ul-Umara (Nawab of Trichinopoly) till 1801 when the Carnatic was annexed by the English.

Tanjore.

Amār Singh (1787—98).

Śarabhōjī II (1798—1833). Tanjore was annexed by the English (1799).

Ramnad.

Mutturdmaliṅga—deposed in 1794.

Mysore.

Tipu Sultān (1782—99). Kṛṣṇa Rāja III of the Wodeyar family was placed on the throne in 1799.

Fort St. George—Governors :—

Sir Archibald Campbell (1786—90).

John Holland (1789.) Edward Holland (1789).

General Meadows (1790—92).

Sir Charles Oakley (1792—94).

Lord Hobart (1794—98).

Lt. General George Harris-c-in-c. acting (1798).

Lord Clive (1798—1803).

Lord William C. Bentinck (1803—07).

William Petrie (1807).

Sir George Barlow (1807—14).

Rāya Raghunātha Tonḍaimān had no male issue who could succeed him as ruler of the State. He left behind him only a daughter—Perumdēvi Ammāl, popularly known as 'Ammāl Āyi'—who, according to custom, could not be installed as the ruler. The uncle of Rāya Raghunātha Tonḍaimān was then alive. He was very ill in 1789 and waived his claim to succeed in favour of his eldest son, Vijaya Raghunātha Tonḍaimān, who was installed as the ruler of the State in 1789. He was born in 1759 and was therefore thirty years of age when he became the ruler of the State. We learn from contemporary

Persian manuscripts that "at his succession to the Government, he was obliged to pay fifty thousand pagodas to the Nabob Mahomed Ally Khan, who refused to confirm his succession until the money was sent".

The Tondaiman's family. He had five sons and a daughter, of whom two survived him—Vijaya Raghunàtha Ràya Tonḍaimàn and Raghunàtha Tonḍaimàn, who afterwards became rulers of the State in 1807 and in 1825 respectively.

The rule of Vijaya Raghunàtha Tonḍaimàn was remarkable for the many charities that he instituted, and the wars in which his forces were engaged, signalling the devoted attachment to the English and the Nawab which he had inherited from his predecessors.

Conferment of Military Rank and the Title of "Raja Bahadur" on the Tondaiman. In October, 1795, Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of Arcot, died. Before his death, he conferred upon the Tonḍaimàn the title of *Rājā Bahadūr*, so that henceforth the Tonḍaimàns were known as the Ràjas of Pudukkóṭṭai. The Tonḍaimàn had well earned this distinction by his unswerving devotion to the Nawab and the English. The sanad was dated 17th October, 1796, and ran as follows:—

"As a reward for the faithful services rendered by you and your ancestors, the title of "Rājā Bahadūr" is bestowed upon you and a *mansab*;* you can keep a force of 1,500 cavalry; a flag, a naggara (kettle-drum), a turband, a Jaga (a jewel for the head inlaid with precious stones), an elephant and a khillat (are sent) and you are elevated thereby. Regarding these as marks of good will, you should be solicitous of obtaining more. You should follow the footsteps of your ancestors in rendering service and carrying out instructions without any objection. This should be regarded as a mark of good fortune".

* *Mansab* was "a military title and rank conferred by the Moghul Government of Delhi, regulated by the supposed number of horse the holder of the title could, if required, bring into the field". *Wilson*.

A *nazar* of 25,000 pagodas was sent by the Ràja in consideration of the honours conferred on him by the Nawab.

The Nawab's wars with his Poligars.—

Uḍaiyàrpālayam and Ariyalūr. The Poligars of Uḍaiyàrpālayam and Ariyalūr, who had been reinstated and made renters of their pālayams, did not pay even "the trifle" which they had to pay as rent and were contemplating revolt. They were imprisoned by the Nawab but escaped. Their attempts to get back their pālayams by peaceful methods proved fruitless, and in 1796 they returned to their pālayams, assembled their forces and revolted against the Nawab. The English sent an army towards the close of 1796 to Uḍaiyàrpālayam and applied to the Toṇḍaimàn for help. The Ràja of Pudukkóṭṭai sent 69 horse and 2,203 foot-soldiers to quell the insurrections in the two pālayams. Further forces were applied for since it was felt that "relying on the Toṇḍaimàn's army, the Nawab would not send any other force", and "in April and July, 1797, about 200 horse-soldiers and 5,000 foot were sent" to these pālayams. Order was at length restored, and, after the Carnatic finally came into the hands of the English in 1801, the Poligars were recognised as ordinary *Istimîrâr Zamindars** in 1816.

Turaiyūr. The Poligar of Turaiyūr, who could not pay his *peshcush*, had fled to the Tanjore country. Taking advantage of the trouble which in 1796 broke out in Uḍaiyàrpālayam and profiting by the distracted and enfeebled state of the Nawab's authority, he determined to excite disturbance in Turaiyūr. He accordingly collected a considerable number of men and, aided by his adherents, spread terror and devastation in all parts of the pālayam. Since he had lost all hopes of being restored to its management, he was determined to convert this fertile district into a barren waste. The Toṇḍaimàn who was appealed to for a strong force sent a force of 1,456 infantry and 3,000 men. The Nawab ultimately came to terms with the Poligar, who in 1816 became an *Istimîrâr Zamindar*.

* *Istimîrâr* = land permanently settled.

Other military transactions. The Viśeṅginàṭṭu Kaḷḷars of Tanjore had always been a great source of trouble to the peaceful inhabitants of Trichinopoly. Frequent complaints were brought against them by the Nawab, and the Rāja of Tanjore was again and again required to take the necessary steps for their subjugation. In 1797 the Toṇḍaimān sent a force of about 700 men to chastise them. The Kaḷḷars were restrained for the time being from their depredations. During the years 1791—93, the Toṇḍaimān was engaged in minor disputes with Tanjore and Śivagaṅga.

Ramnad becomes a Zamindari. The Sétupati of Ramnad was reported about this time to be oppressive and tyrannical. He injured and oppressed the inhabitants, weakened and impoverished the country and brought indelible shame on his family by his dissipation. Major Stevenson, who was sent against the Sétupati, in February, 1795, surrounded his fort and captured the Rāja who did not resist. The Sétupati was deposed. The British Government took over the direct management of Ramnad for about eight years, and then made the Sétupati's sister the *Istimīdr Zamīndārīni* in 1803.

The third Mysore war.—The immediate cause of this war was Tipu's attack on Travancore, a State in alliance with and under the protection of the company. In the course of the war, Tipu descended into the Carnatic (November 1790) and reached the northern bank of the Kāvérī near Śrīraṅgam. According to instructions, the Toṇḍaimān sent an army of 1,500 men, under Sardār Mahāliṅga Mudaliyār against him. Tipu soon afterwards retired from the plain since Lord Cornwallis had carried the war into the Mysore plateau and threatened the Sultan's capital. The war was brought to a close by the treaty of Seringapatam.

The last war with Mysore.—Tipu had been intriguing with the French, and the Governor-General's protests had no effect on him. Hence orders were issued for the advance of an

English army into Mysore in February 1799. Colonel Brown with an army which included 1,400 men from Pudukkóttai reached Seringapatam on the 11th of May after capturing Karúr, Erode, and other small forts in April. He learnt that he was just a week too late and that Seringapatam had been captured on the 4th of May and Tipu killed. Colonel Brown's detachment returned to the South on the 22nd of May and took possession of the district of Coimbatore. He sent back the Tonḍaimàn's men in July, 1799.

Orders were passed for the grant of prize-money to the Tonḍaimàn's officers and men. At first there was an attempt to exclude the detachment of Colonel Brown from any share in the captured property, since it reached Seringapatam only after the fort had been captured. Ultimately however it was given a share.

Transfer of the Carnatic (and Tanjore) to the English — After the fall of Seringapatam, papers were found in the fallen city showing that Muhammad Ali and his son Umdut-ul-Umara, who was then the Nawab of Arcot, had been engaged in treasonable correspondence with Tipu. An inquiry was ordered, but while it was going on, the Nawab died. His heir would not accept the terms offered by the English, and the Nawabship was therefore conferred upon a junior member of the family, with whom a treaty was entered into under which the new Nawab was to receive one-fifth of the revenues of the province—subject to a minimum of 12,000 pagodas—every month, and a proclamation was issued on the 31st of July, 1801, announcing the transfer of the Carnatic to the East India Company. The kingdom of Tanjore had been made over to the Company on the 25th of April 1799. The Ràja was permitted to reside in the Tanjore Fort and received an annual payment of one lakh of pagodas and one-fifth of the net revenue of the country. So from August, 1801, the Company represented both the Nawab and the Ràja of Tanjore and exercised full control over the provinces which had belonged to them.

The first 'Poligar War.'—Kaṭṭabomma Nàyak, Poligar of Pàñjālamkuricchi, the Poligar of Nagalāpuram and some others plundered the surrounding villages, refused to pay their *peshcush* and were extremely turbulent. Their refractory conduct was left unnoticed until the fall of Seringapatam in May 1799 set free sufficient forces for an army to be sent against them. An expedition was placed under the command of Major Bannerman in August, 1799. The fort of Pàñjālamkuricchi was attacked, and Kaṭṭabomma Nàyak evacuated it with his forces and fled northwards. He was pursued by the Eṭṭayāpuram Poligar, but Kaṭṭabomma Nàyak escaped first to Sivagaṅga and then to the woods in the Tonḍaimān's country.

On the 8th of September, the Collector, Mr. Lushington, wrote to the Tonḍaimān to exert himself to secure the person of Kaṭṭabomma Nàyak and of the Pālayakār of Nagalāpuram, who were represented as having fled to his country. The Tonḍaimān wrote to Mr. Lushington on the 24th September, 1799, that "on every side in the mountains and on the hills he had placed people to find out the hiding place of the enemy" and that "by the blessing of God, the prosperity of the Company and his own good fortune, Kaṭṭabomma Nàyak with his dumb brother, two brothers-in-law and three other people—together seven persons—were discovered in the jungle of the village of Kaliapoor, in the Sivaganga Taluk". They were sent, as required, to Captain Smith commanding in Madura.

Kaṭṭabomma Nàyak was soon afterwards removed to Kaittār, in the Tinnevelly District, where, on the finding of a court-martial, he was hanged on the 17th October 1799 in the presence of the Poligars of Tinnevelly assembled for the purpose. The others that had been captured were kept in confinement at Palamcotta. The rebel Pālayakārs were dispossessed of their estates and compelled to dismantle their own forts and give up a considerable quantity of arms.

Congratulations were showered on the Rājā of Pudukkóttai for his capture of Kaṭṭabomma Nàyak and his party.

Mr. Lushington informed the Tonḍaimān that "the Company were highly gratified, he was much applauded and that he was fully established in their favour". He also wrote to the Madras Government that "indeed in whatever point of view it was considered, the service which the Tonḍaimān had performed was of the highest importance". The Governor, Lord Clive, wrote to the Tonḍaimān in November that "his ancestors with reference to the Government of the English Company had been firm in the former wars and rendered excellent services at different times", that "the fresh proof of his exertions and the interest taken by him in Government affairs had already spread the fame of his family", that "it was impressed on his mind and would be communicated to the Directors in England" and that "by way of gratitude, he was sending therewith one Khilut (a dress of honour) with a horse". The Rājā received also a present of two thousand gold coins.

The second 'Poligar War'.—The Poligar of Pāñjālamkuricchi who was hanged at Kaittār in September, 1799, had left two brothers. Of these the younger, Ūmayan or "the dumb boy", as he was called, was "a person of great energy and full of resources and was regarded by the natives almost as a divinity". The brothers had a supporter in Śivattayya, a near relative who was at large, and was the leader of a large party of sympathisers. Through his efforts the brothers and a number of other Poligar prisoners confined at Palamcotta made their escape in February, 1801, by overpowering their guard. They reached Pāñjālamkuricchi and gathered 5,000 men. They rebuilt the fort, and put it in a better condition than it had ever been before. Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew who was appointed to command the troops in the field, captured the fort in May, 1801, upon which the rebels fled into Śivagaṅga where they were received with great honour by the Marudus. Col. Agnew demanded the surrender of the chief of Pāñjālamkuricchi and other principal leaders, on pain of the Marudus being themselves treated as rebels, and as they showed no signs of

compliance, operations were commenced against them. Lieutenant Colonel Innes, commanding in Dindigul, was directed to co-operate with the troops in Sivagaṅga.

The Tonḍaimán's services to the English.—The Tonḍaimán was applied to for help and he promptly responded.*

*The services that he rendered have been summarised by Captain William Blackburne, in a letter to the Madras Government written in May, 1803.

The following are extracts from this letter:—

"Tonḍaimán had everything to dread from the hatred and revenge of the surviving Chief of Panjalamecourichy, whom he had formerly arrested and delivered in fetters into the hands of his enemies, and whose brother he had conducted to the scaffold. Despairing of inducing him to become a party in their rebellion, they sent him word that he must be sensible, that his country was entirely at their mercy, that if he would not join them, they required from him at the least a strict neutrality, and they insisted that he should neither send succour nor provisions to the Company's troops nor allow them a passage through his country. If the Tonḍaimán failed in any one of these points, the Servagars declared that they had bound themselves by a solemn oath to send the Panjalamecourichy Chief and his followers, and five thousand of their own troops to overrun his country and to plunder and burn it. Nevertheless the Tonḍaimán directed his troops to be assembled, and in four days three thousand marched to join Lieutenant Colonel Innes.

"At the first suggestion, Tonḍaimán gave up Trimem, the only stronghold in his dominions, for a depôt for the use of Lieutenant Colonel Agnew's army.

"Tonḍaimán received with distinction the Zemindar of Sivaganga whose installation by the English with much state in the camp, had been of service in detaching many from the rebel "Marudus", and afforded him protection, although he was well aware that this step would excite the most rancorous hatred in the rebels. He sent nine-hundred men, who escorted the Zemindar and remained with him as a body-guard.

"A great number of the families of Murdoo's principal adherents had concealed themselves in the jungles upon or near the frontiers of Tonḍaimán. A list of these families was sent to Tonḍaimán and he apprehended the whole in one night and secured them, some in the Fort of Trimem and others in the villages in the interior.

"During the whole of the campaign, the Tonḍaimán's troops alone escorted all the supplies of grain, *etc.*, which were sent by the Collector of Tanjore to the depôt at Trimem and the stores and ammunitions which were sent from Trichinopoly were met by the Tonḍaimán's guard at the frontier and conducted with speed and safety to the depôt.

"Frequent and important intelligence was sent to me by Tonḍaimán, with many sensible opinions on the peculiar nature of the war, which received the approbation of Lieutenant Colonel Agnew".

Śiruvayal was occupied by Lieutenant Colonels Agnew and Innes on the 30th of July, and for about a month, the force was employed in endeavouring to penetrate the dense forest between the camp at Śiruvayal and the fort at Kālaiyārkóvil, the principal stronghold of the rebels, situated about five miles direct south of Śiruvayal. A large number of woodcutters from Dindigul and Puḍukkóṭṭai were put upon this work. In September, Pirānmalai was taken.

On 1st October, the force advanced by three distinct routes to Kālaiyārkóvil. The allied chiefs defended themselves with great valour. Superiority of discipline at length prevailed and Kālaiyārkóvil was soon afterwards taken (1st of October), and the rebels dispersed in every direction. By the end of the month, the two Marudus, their sons and principal followers, and the Chief of Pāñjālamkuricchi had all been taken and executed with the exception of the younger son of Cinna Marudu and seventy-one others who were transported for life.

The Tondaimān praised by the Governor for his help in the War. The Governor of Madras wrote to the Tondaimān in December that "he was happy to observe that the disturbances were over through his kind aid and advice", that "when he brought to his mind the innumerable instances of his solicitude and anxiety to further the interests and prosperity of the Honorable Company, he (the Governor as the good friend of the Tondaimān) could not but express his sense of the worth and excellence so vividly shining in his good conduct towards them", and that "he hoped that God would render the long existing friendship between the Tondaimān and the Honorable Company to last for years to come"

The close of the Era of Wars. In 1801 the era of wars terminated so far as South India was concerned. "A mixed Government, partly carried on on English principles and partly controlled by the Nawāb's prejudices, had come to an end and

been succeeded by a Government purely English, at unity with itself and as just as it is powerful. The results of this change have been most important and valuable. The Poligars had become Zamindars and had changed their nature as well as their name. One can scarcely believe that the Nàyaka and Marava Zamindars of the present day are the lineal descendants of those turbulent and apparently untamable chiefs, of whose deeds of violence and daring the eighteenth century was so full".*

The sepoys of the Tonḍaimàn found their occupation gone, and the Amaragars and Ūliagars to whom lands had been given on service-tenure instead of wages were henceforward required to watch at the gates of the Palace, oversee the harvesting of paddy, collect Sirkar money, etc.,—rather tame work for men that had opposed Hyder and the Marudus.

Grant of the Kilanilai tract to the Tondaiman.—In April, 1803, Captain Blackburne, the Resident, wrote to the Tonḍaimàn that he had received the commands of the Governor to ascertain the nature of the Tonḍaimàn's claim to Kīlānilai and express his opinion on it. At the Rāja's request the captain met him in a village near the frontier, where the former fully apprised him of his claims to the fort. The Rāja further requested that the Government of Madras might be pleased to confer upon him the title of Mahārāja and the honour of having a white umbrella and gold staffs carried before him.

Having ascertained the full extent of the Tonḍaimàn's claims and wishes, the Resident submitted a very full and explanatory report (May, 1803) to the Madras Government, furnishing a statement of the conduct of the Tonḍaimàn during the Śivagaṅga rebellion and submitting two packets of translations made by himself of papers received from the Tonḍaimàn, of which one contained a statement of the Tonḍaimàn's claim to the fort and district of Kīlānilai and translations of letters on

* Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*, pp. 228—9.

which it was founded, and the other, letters received by the Tonḍaimān's ancestors from persons of distinction in the Company's service.

After due consideration of the Report, the Governor-in-Council ceded the fort and district of Kīlānilai to the Tonḍaimān by a grant, dated 8th July, 1803. The following are extracts from Lord Clive's letter on the subject.

"It is my intention that you and your descendants shall hold the district in perpetual lease, subject to the tribute of an elephant to be presented annually to the British Government. But as the orders about to issue on this subject must be dependent on the order of confirmation of the Honorable Court of Directors, you will not consider the arrangement to be permanent until it shall have been ratified by the Court of Directors. In the meantime I shall direct that you shall be placed in possession of the Fort of Keelanelly and that you shall enjoy the revenues of the district until the final decision of the Court of Directors on your claim shall have been made known to this Government.

"With reference to the honorary marks of distinction which Captain Blackburne has informed me that you are desirous of possessing, I have determined that you and your descendants shall be permitted to assume the distinguishing marks of two gold chobdar* sticks, conformably to the wish which you have expressed on that subject; and in token of my approbation, I have directed that two gold sticks of that description shall be prepared and presented to you in my name".

The cession of Kīlānilai was confirmed by the Court of Directors whose decision was communicated to the Rāja in a letter dated 7th March, 1806. The grant was made subject to the yearly tribute of an elephant. The tribute, however, was not insisted upon, and in 1836 it was formally excused. The two gold Chobdar sticks were handed over to the Tonḍaimān's Vakil in December, 1803.

* *Chobdar* literally means an attendant who carries a staff.

In 1804, boundary disputes between Pudukkóttai and Marungàpuri and Pudukkóttai and Maṇappàrai (Kumàravàḍi) were settled, and boundary stones planted by the Company's officers.*

The Tondaiman's Charities. The Ruler styled 'Bhoja Raja'. The Ràja distinguished himself by his munificence so much that he is generally known by the name of Bhója Ràja after the well-known ruler of Dhàr.

A number of Chatrams were built and endowed by the Ràja and his relatives, for example, the Aḍappakkàran Chatram† and the Chatrams at Muḷḷur, ‡ Onāṅguḍi § and Kuḷavàippaṭṭi. || The Ràja endowed many temples both within and outside the State. It was in his time that lands were assigned ¶ for "the Tondaiman's *Kaṭṭalais*" or offerings in the name of the Tondaiman to the Gods at the well-known shrines of Ràmésvaram, Madura, Palni, Chidambaram, Tirupati, Trichinopoly and other places. Many Brahmins were invited to settle in the State by presents of houses and lands—as at Kíranúr or Maṅgalāmbālpuram (1804), Śellukuḍi or Brahadāmbālpuram (1799), Tirumalairāyasamudram (1796), Tirumalairāyapuram (1794) and Raṅgammālsamudram near Peruṅgaḷúr.

In some cases, lands were assigned rent-free for *agrahārams* (Brahmin settlements) as at Subbammālpuram near Valnād.

* See pages 724 and 725 above.

† To west of Tirūgokarnam built in 1797 in the name of Kúttappan who stood high in the favour of the Ràja. A chatram was also founded at Benàres in the name of this servant.

‡ Built by the Chinnaraṣṇmanai Jāgirdār.

§ Built in 1799 in the name of Ammaṇi Āyi wife of Vijaya Raghunātha Tondaiman, the Western Palace Jāgirdār.

|| Built in 1803, by Kattakuricchi Āyi, step-mother of the Ràja.

¶ The Ràja granted large tracts of land at very easy rates of assessment for the endowment of a chatram at Gandharvakóttai founded by the Chettiyars of Arimalam, and to Muttukumārasvāmi Pillai's choultry at Trichinopoly.

Grants of Sarvamānyam lands.—Lands in various parts of the State were assigned to Brahmins as *Sarvamānyam* or rent-free lands, for example at Kóvilúr or Ammapiammālsamudram, and Malaiyúr or Rāmachandrapuram. By assigning lands, either rent-free or at easy rates of assessment, the Tondaimān endeavoured to get forest lands cleared and rendered fit for cultivation. There are records of more than 50 cases in which forest lands were ordered to be granted to Brahmins rent-free. Learned men were encouraged, and there are specific cases of lands assigned to them. In this way there was much literary activity during Bhoja Rāja's rule.

Death of the Tondaiman.—Rāja Vijaya Raghunātha Tondaimān died on the 1st of February, 1807. He left two sons, Vijaya Raghunātha Rāya Tondaimān and Raghunātha Tondaimān, who were only ten and nine years of age respectively. Nevertheless, the mother of these children, Āyi Ammā Āyi, offered to commit *sati*, and, in spite of all dissuasions, threw herself into a specially prepared pit of fire, after entrusting her sons, it is said, to the confiding care of Captain Blackburne, who, however, was not then at Pudukkóttai. The *sati* of Āyi Ammā Āyi occurred at Kāratópe, the funeral-ground of the Tondaimān family, and, after this occurrence, the ground came to be called *Mālai Idu* (meaning the place where wreaths of flowers were offered to the departed). A temple was erected at the place, and was endowed with land.

According to Mr. S. R. Lushington, who afterwards became Governor of Madras, the Tondaimān "gave a proof of fidelity to the Company that had never been surpassed" and according to Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, "he had not only rendered himself conspicuous among the allies of the Honorable Company, but had far extended the good name which his ancestors had secured for him". He ruled and treated his subjects and servants with kindness and he carried on the civil and military administration regularly". The Rāja died in the literal sense of the term full of honours.

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE. (18TH CENTURY).

The 18th century was a period of wars which decided ultimately who should be supreme in South India. The French made a bid for empire by creating civil wars or succession disputes at Hyderabad and in the Carnatic. The battles round Trichinopoly and Arcot and in the Chingleput Districts left the English supreme in the Carnatic. The Maráthas and Hyder and Tipu of Mysore had then to be humbled. After the annexation of the Carnatic and Tanjore there were only the refractory Poligars left to be subdued. The Tondaimàns were called upon to play an important part in all these military transactions. The history of the State during this century is taken up more with the campaigns in which the Tondaimàns participated than with the details of their administration. We shall not be wrong, however, in believing that the earlier Tondaimàns continued the administrative system of the Nàyak briefly described in the last section.

The political status of the Tondaiman Rajas.

In copper plate grants * and in inscriptions †, the Tondaimàns dated their grants till about 1804 A. D. by the regnant years of the descendants of the Vijayanagar Emperors who were then no better than local chieftains. Until the break-up of the Madura kingdom, the Tondaimàns were feudatories of the Nàyak kings. Namana and Ràmasvami Tondaimàn of Kolattúr called themselves after the contemporary Nàyak rulers. The Jesuit letters mention that "the Tondaimàn Ràja had made himself formidable by 1711 to the king of Madura". According to the Rev. W. Taylor, ‡ the Ruler of Pudukkóttai then ranked with those of Travancore, Ramnad and Sivagaṅga as "the adopted sons" of the kings of Madura whereas the other chieftains of the South were merely "pālayakàr servants".

* Cf. State Museum plates-Numbers 23 to 31, ranging in date from 1733 to 1804 A. D. Uchāni grant, 1710 A. D. and Kaḍayakkuḍi grant, 1718 A. D.

† Cf. P. S. I. 763 at Veppaimuttuppaṭṭi dated 1798 A. D.

‡ *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, pp. 161—3.

The question whether after the extinction of the Nāyak kingdom the Tonḍaimān was a tributary chief who owned allegiance to the Nawab of Carnatic or whether he was an independent ruler, is discussed at some length in a memorandum—*“An inquiry into the Policy of Making Conquests for the Mahometans in India with the British Arms,—1779”*, and the conclusion arrived at was that the Rāja of Tanjore and the Tonḍaimān were independent rulers in no way subject to the Nawab.

In a letter to the Madras Government which the Nawab of Carnatic wrote in 1771, he stated that it was “as plain as the Sun” that Ramnad, Śivagaṅga and Pudukkōṭṭai were States that had long been dependent on Trichinopoly. A select committee consisting of Josias Du Pré, Governor of Madras, and Warren Hastings, and Samuel Ardley, members of council, was appointed to consider how far the three principalities mentioned above were subject to Tanjore or Trichinopoly. “Upon inquiry,” it appeared to them, “that neither Marawar (Ramnad) nor Nalcooty (Sivagaṅga) ever paid any regular or yearly tribute to the Government of Trichinopoly, which according to the power and opportunity they met with, received sums of money from them by way of Nazirs or presents; with regard to Tonḍaimān they received the same.” The Madras Council issued the following proceedings on 6th May, 1771, on the report of the select committee. “A sketch of the case of the Marawar, Nalcooty and Tonḍaimān, entered on the Minutes of the select committee, will show in the best manner we can trace how far these Poligars are dependent either on Trichinopoly or Tanjore: it appears that the only right over these is power and that constitutionally they are independent of both.”

The Nawab had long been jealous of the intimacy between the English and the Tonḍaimāns. The Tonḍaimāns had been carrying on direct correspondence with the Madras council.

The Nawab got a proclamation issued in the time of George Pigot, Governor of Madras, that "since the whole country of the Carnatic from Nellore to Tinnevely had fallen into the hands of His Highness the Nawab", the company's servants "were by no means to meddle in the affairs of his country and all the tributary chiefs were to implicitly obey His Highness' orders". In August 1765, the Nawab was confirmed by the Mughal Emperor as the *Subahdar* of the Carnatic and made independent of the Nizám of the Deccan. In March 1768, Umdat-ul-umara, the eldest son of the Nawab, was appointed, with the permission of the Madras council, Viceroy of Trichinopoly. The Nawab desired that the *Vakils* of the South Indian princes who had formerly been "admitted to Madras" must be "excluded from the least correspondence with our Presidency". The Tonḍaimàn's *Vakils* henceforward resided at Trichinopoly. In spite of his right to declare his independence, the Tonḍaimàn was satisfied with declaring himself as being under the protection of the Nawab, since the latter was an ally of the English Company.

The Ràja enjoyed, however, the highest regard and confidence of all the Company's officers from the Governor downwards. Before his departure for Europe in April, 1759, Col. Lawrence wrote to the Ràja to say that "he would lay before His Majesty and the Court of Directors all the pains and trouble the Tonḍaimàn had taken for the English and the assistance which he had afforded, to which they owed their victory," that "he would not forget at all the friendship that the Tonḍaimàn sincerely and manifestly avowed to him in every point", and, that "though he might appear to have gone to a distant country, the assistance and benevolences which his friend (the Tonḍaimàn) had bestowed would always appear uppermost in his recollection".

With the annexation of the Carnatic, the Tonḍaimàn came under the protection of the British and was looked upon as a "loyal ally" who paid no tribute to his overlord.

Ministers. The chief administrative officer was styled the *Kāryakarta*, who must have taken the place of the *Daḷavāḍi* of the Nāyak times. The other officers, *Rāyasam*, *Kaṇakkan*, etc., mentioned on page 736, continued in this century also. The ministers formed the Rāja's council, which was often attended by the Rāja's brothers and sons. The Chief officer entrusted with the revenue collection was the *Kārbār*. Jāgirdars had their own *Kārbārs*.

The Rāja maintained a *Vakil* at the Court of Trichinopoly or at Madras. His office somewhat corresponds to that of a modern *Chargé d'affaires* or *minister plenipotentiary*. Soon after his appointment, a *Vakil* presented his *arzis* or credentials to the Nawab or the Governor at Madras. Persian seems to have been the language of diplomatic correspondence with the Nawab and the Madras Government.

Justice. The Rāja dispensed justice, often with the help of Pandits versed in legal lore. Rāja Vijaya Raghunātha set up the *Dharmāsanam* or seat of justice. It was really a council to advise the Rāja in the administration of justice, and was composed of Pandits who were jurists, all the high officers of the State, and a number of respectable citizens.

The Tabsildars, who were also Police chiefs and Magistrates, administered in the taluks and firkas crude and summary justice. Very often the Jāgirdars dispensed justice in their own way in the areas under their control, and settled differences among themselves through arbitrators selected from among their own class.

There are instances of trial by ordeal even in this century. A Rāṅgiyam inscription (P. S. I. 876 dated 1737—8) relates to the settlement of a dispute over a channel. The decision of the Rāja's agent was in favour of one Nāgappan who underwent a fire ordeal unharmed in the Amman temple of Pāganéri. P. S. I. 929 relates to the decision by Vīrasinnu Nāyak of a dispute

between the Pallars and Paraiyars of the village in favour of the former, since a member of their community had successfully undergone the ordeal of dipping his fingers into a pot of boiling ghee.

Army. The State did not maintain any considerable standing-army. The Sardars and Šervaiárs, who enjoyed rent-free lands, maintained almost all the cavalry and infantry. For instance, we read in old records that Pórum Ràyan Pallavaràyar and his brothers maintained 722 men, and Ràmasvami Ràngiya Tévar, 130 men armed with swords and about 210 with match-locks. The men received training under capable officers.* They were often trained by English officers before they were sent for active field service. Col. Stuart in his letter dated March 28, 1789, requested the Topðaimàn to "direct his men to march so as to arrive on Tuesday at Tripatoor," and informed him that "he would have them well inculcated in the articles of war, after their arrival at the place aforesaid."

The weapons commonly in use were swords and bucklers, spears, daggers, pikes, slings for throwing stones, bows and arrows and match-locks. The men from Pudukkóttai were very clever in the use of the boomerang.

The military officers were the *Fauzdár* or commander, *Sardár*, *Šervaiár* or captain. The retainers were called *Amarakárs*.

Bullocks to drag the cannons, coolies, and trained spies formed an indispensable appendage to the army. A bazaar followed every army to sell the necessaries of life. We find in the Inam office records that the Topðaimàn Ràja sent on many occasions 4,000 to 8,000 men. This number included both combatants and non-combatant followers.

* Owk Ràja of the Vijayanagar royal family and his assistant Bódi Rowth were once engaged to train the Topðaimàn's men.

*Land Revenue, etc.** The Ràja possessed lands of his own. *Inám* lands included (1) those alienated in the name of religion or charity or in consideration of service, e. g. *dévadánam*, *chatram lands*, *Brahmadéyam*, *Védavṛtti*, etc., (2) *Jágirs*, e. g. the two created by Vijaya Raghunàtha Ràya, and (3) *Amarams*-granted to military officers. The *Umbalam*s or *inám*s granted for services were numerous. The only income that the State derived from *inám* lands were quit-rents and minor cesses. The *amáni* or *várapattu* settlement was the chief feature of the century; under this system no definite *rent* was fixed, but the State took a share of the actual produce.

Religion and Charity.

The Toṇḍaimàns were so charitable as to win for the State the appellation *Dharma Samastánam* or the 'land of charity.' Raghunàtha Ràya enlarged the temple at Kuḍumiyàmalai. Vijaya Raghunàtha (Sivagñānapuram Durai), the disciple of Śrī Sadāśiva, instituted the Dussara festival and built the temple of Śrī Dakṣiṇāmūrti within the old palace. He also built and endowed chatrams not only in the State but also outside,—even at distant Benares. He built a temple over the tomb of Śrī Sadāśiva at Nerúr. Vijaya Ragunàtha (Bhója Ràja) made endowments to many temples both within and outside the State, and instituted *kaṭṭalais* or grants for divine service, in well-known shrines outside the State, such as Ràmésvaram, Madura, Paṇi, Trichinopoly and Tirupati. Three such endowments deserve special mention: (i) a grant of 24 villages in Valnāḍ for worship in the palace-shrine of Śrī Dakṣiṇāmūrti, (2) two villages for the maintenance of the shrine at Nerúr and (3) lands for the temple at Mālaīḍu where the Rāṇi of Vijaya Raghunàtha performed *Sati*.

The Toṇḍaimàn Ràjas invited learned Brahmins to settle in the State and granted them rent-free lands. They granted forest sites on condition that they were cleared and brought under

* See chapter on Land Revenue Administration, Vol. I.

cultivation. They often gave free house-sites which were aligned into streets and *agraharams* or Brahmin villages. Examples of such villages are Ammachatram, Nāñjūr or Namanarāyasamudram, Kaḍayakkūḍi, Pórum, Kíranūr, Aiyāñkulaṁ or Rājagópālasamudram near Muḷlūr, Kumāramaṅgalam, Raṅgammālsamudram near Peruṅgaḷūr, Tirumalairāyasamudram, a little to the east of the capital, Bṛhadambālpuram at Śellukūḍi and Maṅgalāmbālpuram at Kíranūr, Kānappéṭṭai or Brahmavidyāpuram, Pinnaṅḡḍi or Muktaṁbālpuram and Namanasamudram. With the advent of Gópālakṛṣṇa Dāstri, whom Vijaya Raghunātha Rāya appointed as the royal *guru*, there came to the State a number of scholars who were attached to the court.

Christianity.—

Āvūr, the first and most important Christian settlement in the State, came under the Koḷattūr and Pudukkóṭṭai Toṇḍaimāns after the extinction of the Perāmbūr—Kaṭṭalur pālayam. The apprehensions that the Toṇḍaimāns would persecute the Christians proved groundless. Rāmasvāmi Toṇḍaimān of Koḷattūr showed great respect to the Christian faith. Father T. Venantius Bouchet pulled down the original mud chapel at Āvūr and erected a church in brick and mortar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary of Assumption. It soon became a place of pilgrimage; the image of the Virgin locally called *Periya Nāyaki* or 'the Great Mother' came to be held in great reverence. Father Bouchet organised his evangelical work, and with the help of Indian Catechists converted within twelve years no less than twenty thousand people living in about thirty villages. The famous Father Constant Joseph Beschi, known in the Tamil country as Vīramāmunivar, began his missionary life in 1711 at Āvūr. In 1716 the church was destroyed by the Pudukkóṭṭai soldiery in a moment of general panic. Between 1717 and 1727, however, the State served as an asylum to Fr. Bertholdi and others who were persecuted at Trichinopoly. Though the Carnatic army threatened to ravage

Āvūr, Candāsāhib, ultimately gave Fr. Beschi protection, and even made him his counsellor (1736—1740). Fr. Francis Homem abandoned the original village of Āvūr and founded the new village about two furlongs to the south-east (1740). In 1747, the foundations of the present church were laid. The Society of Jesus was suppressed in 1773, though members of the Society stayed on in the State and continued their labours. In 1798, Periya Yagupar (Jacob), a Catenar or Syro-Malabar priest, took charge of Āvūr.

Islām.—

The Muslim community rose into influence and strength in the State during this century. The Tonḍaimāns treated them with every consideration. They made donations for the celebration of the *Ramzān* and *Muharam* festivals. The Jāgīrdars of the State collected a special cess for the Ramzān called *Ramzān-paṇḍigai vari*, and remitted it to the Rāja who sent it to the Nawab. We find among the old records the Nawab's acknowledgments of such payments. Liberal grants were made to mosques. We have already mentioned (page 804) a grant (P. S. I. 978) to Syed Āhmad Sāhib of the Lakṣmanpaṭṭi mosque. The State seems to have attracted a number of Mussalman saints whose tombs are revered to this day. The Government made endowments to many of them. The tomb of Syed Fakhruddin Quereṣi Auliya, popularly known as Bhāva, at Kāṭṭubhāva Paḷlivāsal is the most venerated in the State. Kīḷavan Sétupati made a grant to this tomb (P. S. I. 901). It now enjoys liberal patronage at the hands of the Darbar. In the capital, there is the tomb of Hazrat Syed Shāh Parhéri Auliya who is believed to have lived in the 18th century.

Famines, etc.—

The ravages of war, the incursions of Hyder's men, and the devastation of unscrupulous poligars caused untold suffering to the people. It speaks volumes for the ability of the earlier Tonḍaimāns, that, undaunted by these calamities, they were

able to improve cultivation, convert forest into arable land, form villages, invite families from outside to settle in the State and otherwise improve the conditions of life.

The year 1708—09 witnessed one of the severest famines the State has suffered. The drought of 1733 and the wars of 1735 were responsible for another severe famine. The wars of 1754—56 caused untold distress.

Art and Literature.—One of the outstanding figures of the century that left a mark in Sanskrit literature is Śrī Sadāśiva, the *guru* of Vijaya Raghunātha Rāya Toṇḍaimān. Three of his works, the *Brahmasūtra Vṛtti*, the *Yogasūtra Vṛtti*, the *Ātmavidyā Vilāsam* and some minor poems have now been recovered and published at Śrīraṅgam. Another sage and poet was *Tāyumanavar* who was for some years a minister of the Nāyak ruler of Trichinopoly. Father Constantine Beschi called Vīramāmuniyar worked at Āvūr for some years. The exploits of the Toṇḍaimāns in the wars of the 18th century formed the theme of a number of songs, for instance, *Rāja Toṇḍaimān Anurḍgamalai*, *Rāja Toṇḍaimān Raṭṭaimaṇimālai*, and *Tirumalairāyar kappal*. The Telugu poet Veṅkaṇṇa (1769—89) wrote the *Toṇḍaimān Vamsāvali* and his son Sāmbayya, the *Toṇḍaimān Vijayam* which gives an account of the march to Seringapatam and the poligar wars of the South. In the preface to his *Bhāṣārṇavam*, a lexicon in Telugu, Veṅkaṇṇa refers to the piety and heroism of Vijaya Raghunātha. *Ambundittu Vaḷandān* is another dance-song which contains references to the wars of the period. *Veṅkaṇṇan Śervai Vaḷandān*, *Andappamaṇṇavēḷār kuravaṇji*, *Uḍaiyappa maṇṇavēḷār kuravaṇji*, *Tirumalairāyar kaḷittorai*, *Nallaperiyān Kaliyugam eyyar kuḷuval*, *Nāvalaṅganallakuṭṭi kuḷuval*, *Tirukkuḷambūr vairavan śervai kummi* are poems composed in honour of princes, Sardars, and other nobles and give much historical information.

Like the court of Tanjore, the court of the Toṇḍaimāns of Puḍukkóṭṭai patronised musicians. Sadāśiva's lyrics are "marvels of mature wisdom and melodious utterances".

Many of them are believed to have been composed during the sage's sojourn in the State. A few rare compositions of Kavi Mātṛbhūtamayya of Trichinopoly are now in the possession of a local musician Haritīrtamayya. Paccimiriam Ādiyappa, a *Vainikavidwan* or master-player on the Vīṇa and disciple of Pallavi Gópālaiyar, was patronised at the Courts of Tanjore and Pudukkóttai. His son Kṛṣṇaiya and grandson Subbukūṭṭi Aiya frequented the court of Rāja Raghunātha Toṇḍaimān (1825—29). The last years of this century and the whole of the next produced great masters and composers who have left a rich legacy to posterity. We shall mention such of them as were connected with the State in the next section. It must be said that among the Toṇḍaimāns Śivagñānapuram Dūrai and Bhója Rāja gave the greatest encouragement to scholars.

SECTION VII.—TONÐAIMÁNS (continued) A CENTURY OF
PEACE, PROGRESS AND REFORMS.

VIJAYA RAGHUNÁTHA RÁYA TONÐAIMÁN. 1807—1825.

Contemporary Rulers.

Governors of Madras.—

Sir George Barlow. (1807—1814).

Lt. General John Abercromby—Commander-in-Chief acting. (1813).

Hugh Elliot. (1814—1820).

Sir Thomas Munro. (1820—1827).

When in 1801, Lord Wellesley 'assumed' the administration of the Carnatic, the ghost of the overlordship of the Nawáb over the Tonðaimàn country was laid. The Tonðaimàn got into direct relation with the English. With the unstinting help of the representatives of the Company, Pudukkóttai now entered upon a century of peace, progress and reform. The courage and foresight with which the Tonðaimàn Ràjas faced their responsibilities mark them out as great rulers. There were, however, periods of stagnation and even set-back, but the State was fortunate in the English Residents or Political officers who by their sound advice, guidance and prompt action kept up the progress.

When Vijaya Raghunàtha Ràya became Ràja on February 1, 1807, he was only a minor of ten years of age. The Madras Government sanctioned the succession of the young Ràja who was installed to the unfeigned satisfaction of his people.

Administration during the minority of the Raja. Major Blackburne,* Resident of Tanjore, was required by the Madras Government "to undertake the management of the province of Poodocootah and the guardianship of the minors". He held the offices of the administrator of Pudukkóttai and

* William Blackburne, Lieutenant, August 21, 1790; Captain, December 10, 1799; Major, February 25, 1807; Lieutenant-Colonel, June 28, 1817; Colonel, June 5, 1829; knighted 1838; died 1839.

guardian to the minors for ten years, and when he delivered the charge of the State into the hands of the young chief at his majority, he continued, by the orders of the Government, to be the medium of communication between him and the public officers of the Provinces of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura, by which the State of Pudukkóttai is surrounded.

Soon after Major Blackburne had assumed the superintendence of the State, he appointed Mappillai Pallavarayar,—son-in-law of Raghunàtha Ràya Tonḍaimàn, and husband of his “only daughter, the highly honoured Ammàl Àyi”—, and Tirumalai Tonḍaimàn, Chinna Araṇmanai Jāgirdār, the Managers of the State. The Resident issued instructions to them, which they carried out through the Sarkil Venkappayyar. But the Resident found in the course of a year that the Managers made no attempt to clear the debts of the State *. They were reported to be oppressing the weak and did not treat the relatives of the Ràja with the respect due to them. The Resident came to the conclusion that they did not deserve his confidence. The Madras Government appointed one Anantayya, a servant of the British Government, as ‘*Kāryast*’ or *Agent* “to exercise all the authority of the Rajah Bahadur under the superintendence of the Resident” †. The Agent Anantayya, in turn, incurred the Resident’s displeasure, and the management of the country was therefore entrusted about 1814 to a committee consisting of three members called *Managers*. In 1815, when the Resident gave the Ràja some real powers of administration, the Managers became Counsellors. When in 1817, the Ràja became sole ruler of the State the Resident confined himself to a general superintendence of its affairs. The Sarkil’s place which became vacant in 1814 was not filled up till 1822, when it was given to one Soiroba Nàig, an honest and capable officer of Tanjore. Soiroba Nàig continued as Sarkil from 1822 to 1853.

* The late Ràja had left a debt of 60,400 Pagodas.

† The Resident had left his confidential Secretary Tāna Pillai at Pudukkóttai to report to him on all matters of importance.

Training of the Princes. The charge of the Princes was Captain Blackburne's care. He appointed masters to instruct them in Sanskrit, Maráthi, Telugu and Tamil, and to train them in horsemanship, fencing, archery, *etc.* After a time another instructor was appointed to give them lessons in English. When the young Ràja attained the age of 15 years, Major Blackburne advised him "to attend occasionally in the highest Civil Court, to make himself acquainted with the legal proceedings", and shortly afterwards, the Ràja began to deal with the Revenue accounts.

The Resident was never tired of giving sound advice to the Ràja and the Managers, and to the latter he once wrote that "if they taught the Ràja in the beginning of his reign to plunder the weak, they might be sure that before the end of it he would plunder them also".

The following is a specimen of the exhortation that he addressed to the Ràja:—

"Protect all your subjects from oppression and extortion. This is the most sacred duty of a king. Any violence committed against any one in your country is an injury to you.....See everything, hear everything and suffer no injustice, oppression or idleness to enter into any part of your administration. No human consideration whatever should induce you and me to acquiesce in an injury to a poor man. This is your sacred duty in particular, and as you fulfil it properly, the blessings of the great Judge of kings and cultivators be upon you....No excuse whatever can be admitted as a justification of your expense exceeding your income....If you do not persevere steadily, all your labour will be thrown away, and in the eyes of the British Sardars, you will be mixed and confounded with the mass of the native dependent chiefs and pollygars....You should be the benevolent father of your people, consulting like a tender parent the welfare and comfort of the children rather than your own gratification".

The relations between the Rája and Major Blackburne. The relations between the Resident and the princes were very intimate. They called the Resident their "father", and the latter was attached to them as a parent to his sons. The Resident wrote of them as follows in 1825—"The Rajah Bahadur and his brother were particularly endeared to us from various circumstances," such as "their orphan state, the tender age at which they were placed under my guardianship, their amiable disposition, aptitude to learn and a most unbounded and implicit confidence in my friendship which distinguished their early years and increased with their growth....". On the death of the elder, he wrote to the younger in December, 1825, as follows:—"It would be fruitless to describe the effect which the loss of one of our *children*, so beloved, so respected, so highly praised, has had upon us. I say *children*, for such we always considered and loved you, and although the custom of our country prevented us from so addressing you, *we received willingly from you the endeared appellation of Parent*".

Reforms that were needed. "With the exception of informers, no checks existed in the Revenue Department. No double set of accounts as in Tanjore and the Carnatic; no Curnams; no regular Cutcheries in the District with officers appointed by Government; no regular dufter in the capital; no office anywhere in which the accounts of the country were recorded.

"The administration of justice in Tondiman's country was not less defective than that of Revenue,.....because the only regular officers of justice were the Revenue officers.....They held no regular courts, were not aided by Pundits or Shastries, kept no record of their decisions and did not report them to the Government.....Injuries committed by men of influence or in power they never noticed; and they received no complaints against the great Jaghiredars who exercised without restraint a judicial authority over the lands in their possession....."

"No alteration has been made or attempted in the ancient police establishment of the country. It is a strict cavalgar system and under the direction and control of a strong Government appears to be fully adequate to its objects."*

Revenue. Major Blackburne set about reforming these abuses. For the collection of revenue, he had the country divided into five Taluks,† required all public business to be transacted in the public Cutcherries, and ordered that all the Revenue should be paid to the Sirkil whose receipt should be deemed the only valid voucher for the Revenue officer, that weekly reports and accounts should be submitted to an office of record at Pudukkóttai under the charge of the Sirkil and that *karnams* should be appointed in each village. He passed Treasury rules, such as that all public money should be kept in public treasuries, that no extraordinary expenditure was to be incurred without the sanction of the Resident, that all public work should be done in public offices, that no articles were to be purchased on credit, etc. It was also proclaimed throughout the State that all taxes not collected at the time of the late Rāja's death (1807) were to be remitted.

Establishment of Courts of Justice‡ (1811-1814). About 1813, the Resident reorganised the Courts and drew up "some general regulations for the Courts of Civil and Criminal justice which differed in some degree from those which had been already adopted". Two separate Courts were formed, named *Nyāya Sabhā* or Civil Court (of four Judges), and *Danda Sabhā* or Criminal Court (of three Judges). A third Court called the *Mudra Sabhā* which was to decide Civil cases of a lower grade than the *Nyāya Sabhā* to which it was subordinate, was also

* Major Blackburne's Report to the Madras Government, dated December 31, 1808.

† Alāṅgudi, Kūṇānilai, Koḷattūr, Kavinād, and Perumānād.

‡ For fuller details of the reforms inaugurated by Major Blackburne see pages 423-426 (Vol. I).

established about this time. A *kotwal* or Police officer was permanently stationed at Pudukkóttai.

Marriages of the Raja and his brother. In 1812, the Ràja married a daughter of Siṅgappuli Aiyà (probably of Kal-làkóttai) and a daughter of Tirumalai Panṛikondràṅ of Kattak-kuricchi, and his younger brother, a daughter of Súryamúrthi Panṛikondràṅ of Kattakkuricchi.

The Raja Bahadur congratulated by the Court of Directors. The Resident informed the Ràja in January 1813 that the Honorable the Court of Directors had expressed great satisfaction at the general state of his affairs, praised him highly for his attention to the administration of justice and declared their entire approbation of the Ràja's humanity and liberality in resolving to rebuild the town of Pudukkóttai after the fire of 1812. In this letter which was in English the Ràja was for the first time styled Ràja Bahadúr by the Government of Madras.

A proposal for suppressing the manufacture of earth-salt. In May, 1813, the Resident received suggestions from the Collector of Tanjore for preventing the manufacture in the State of earth-salt, or at least for the absolute restriction of its sale for consumption by the inhabitants of the State. The Resident wrote to the Collector pointing out that the suppression of earth-salt manufacture was objectionable in various ways. He further mentioned that its bulk was so great that it was not easy to transport it from place to place without detection, that "without a *ravanah** it could not pass into the province of Tanjore, unless it deceived the vigilance and activity of the Collector's Chowky† Department, which could not, in regard to the bulk of the article as well as the indefatigable efforts of that department, be considered to be practicable," that "it was notorious that in the southern part of the province of Tanjore the people made the

* A pass-port or certificate from a Collector of Customs authorising goods to pass without payment of further duty.

† Customs-house.

earth-salt for their own consumption....at the same expense which it cost the inhabitants of Pudukkóttai", and that "it was certainly much more easy for them to supply themselves in that manner without the knowledge of the revenue officers than to obtain so bulky an article from Poodoccottah through all the impediments which were presented to its passage by a double row of chowkies and police officers".

For these reasons it was decided not to suppress earth-salt manufacture. Its manufacture was however restricted to four or five central places remote from the frontier, and it was ordered that the salt should be made by the Sirkar officers and that the quantity which might appear necessary for the consumption of the indigent villagers should be issued to them at cost price, so that they might have little or no temptation to make it themselves. The Collector considered the arrangements "quite satisfactory".

A Survey of the State. In May, 1813, orders were received from the Government of Madras that a survey of the country under the Ràja's authority should be made. The one that was made was a very interesting account of Pudukkóttai giving details relating to the physical features, irrigation channels, tanks, temples, *manṭapams*, roads, villages, imports, exports, manufactures, etc., of the State.

The first school opened. In this year a charity school was opened by the Ràja in the town, in which children were educated free and supplied with palm-leaf books and writing materials.

Interference with the lands enjoyed by Amarakàrars, 1814. The Amarakàrs were ejected by Anantayya about this time from the lands which they had cultivated and improved and enjoyed for generations, and were allotted lands elsewhere. If they chose to remain on their lands, they were required to pay the same rent as was paid by ordinary ryots. When the

Resident heard of this, he, "cancelled the innovation", pointing out that "the nature of the tenure was thereby altogether changed."

Introduction of Maráthi. About this time the accounts of the State came to be kept in Maráthi. The result was that most of the offices, high and low, were filled by Maráthas till about 1875.

Establishment of an indigo factory at Karambakkudi. In 1814, indigo works were started at Karambakkudi. Indigo was to be manufactured and sent for sale to England. This was a concern in which the Ràja and Mr. John Blackburne, a brother of the Resident of Tanjore, were both interested as partners. In May, 1823, Mr. John Blackburne left India for England, and the Indigo farm and the factory at Karambakkudi were handed over to the Ràja.

The prosperity of the indigo works at Karambakkudi induced the Ràja to open in 1830 another factory at Kàraittope a little to the south of the town. This factory was also for a time in a fairly flourishing condition. Both these factories were found to be working at a loss in 1841, and indigo manufacture was given up soon afterwards.

Kanḍians sent as State prisoners to Pudukkóttai, 1816. In 1815, the British declared war against the King of Kanḍy on account of his having seized and mutilated some native British subjects who had gone to Kanḍy to trade. The King was defeated and deposed, and some of the captured Kanḍians were sent as State prisoners to Pudukkóttai. The Resident in sending thirteen of these Kanḍians on the 31st of January, 1816, wrote to the Ràja that "they were not to be under any other restraint than their parole not to quit without the permission of the Ràja the villages in which they might reside" and that "it was the desire of the Government that they should be treated with respect and kindness".

The Raja invested with full powers, 1817.* In 1817, Rája Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tonḍaimán was invested with the full powers of a ruler, the Resident informing him "that he had entire confidence in his abilities for Government, in his hatred of oppression, in his love of justice and in his humanity and benevolence.

* On 31st December, 1822 the Resident wrote the following letter to the Rája of Tanjore in which the rank, position and dignity of the Rája of Pudukkóttai were very clearly explained.

"To H. H. Maharaja Serfoji, Raja of Tanjore.

"Captain Hardy has informed me that your Highness has refused compliance with the request which I had the honour to make to you yesterday that the compliments heretofore paid to the Sirkeel of Rája Tonḍaimán Behauder be directed by your Highness to be paid to the present Sirkeel on his visit to me to-morrow and that your Highness considers that the Rája Behauder, being merely a Zemindar, has no right to the distinction of a Sirkeel.

"A Zemindar is a landholder, paying rent to the Government, but possessing neither Military nor Civil authority over the land of which he is the proprietor, he and all his dependents being amenable to the British Courts of Justice, Civil and Criminal. Rája Tonḍaimán Behauder is a native hereditary chief, the Prince and Ruler of an extensive Province. He is a dependent Chief, in regard to all matters of a political nature on the British Government, to whom as his liege lord he owes allegiance and military service. In the internal arrangement of his Province, he is absolute. He has the power of life and death. He enacts laws, appoints Courts of Justice, Civil and Criminal, maintains a considerable military force, collects his revenues and disposes of them at pleasure, paying no tribute either directly or indirectly through the well-deserved kindness and favour of the British Government. All his subjects are expressly exempted from the jurisdiction of the British Courts. The Rája, Behauder's Sirkeels and Fouzdars have been received with the compliments requested from your Highness whenever they have visited British Stations and it is indeed a matter of much surprise as concern to me to receive this refusal from your Highness. I shall be very happy if the explanation I have shortly offered, for a great deal more might be said of this distinguished Chief, shall incline Your Highness to grant a request of the Resident at your Court who is reponsible to the Honorable the Governor for the propriety of what he asks and considers a reciprocity of attentions and civilities as being not less graceful and becoming in your Highness than consistent with the alliance, which unites your Highness so closely with the British Government.

"I have the honour to be, *etc., etc.*,

(Sd.) W. BLACKBURNE "

Resignation of Lieutenant-Colonel Blackburne as Resident and his departure for England, 1823. Lieutenant-Colonel Blackburne resigned his place as Resident of Tanjore and embarked for England in March, 1823. He was specially attached to Pudukkóttai and its Ràja. He commended the Ràja Bahadúr to the Madras Government and to their Chief Secretary, and wrote to the Ràja to assure him that they were all quite prepared to protect and befriend him, and that the latter would not suffer any other inconvenience from his departure than the loss of an affectionate friend. He further assured the Ràja that he had made up his mind to be attentive to his interests in England, wished to have from him a memorandum of his wishes, and doubted not that he would be able to contribute in many ways to his comfort and prosperity.*

The Raja's death and character. This much loved and respected ruler died in June 1825. The Ràni of Ràja Vijaya Ragunàtha offered to commit *Sati*, but was dissuaded from immolating herself by the Ràja's brother and successor who was highly commended by the Madras Government for this humane act. The Ràja was "so exemplary in his public character and so benevolent and amiable in all the relations of private life. His acquirements, his disposition, the regularity with which he applied himself to the business of his State had reached the notice of the Honorable the Court of Directors".

Some events of the reign. Excessive rains that fell in 1809 breached many tanks and destroyed the standing crops. In 1812, the capital was destroyed by fire. The Ràja had the town rebuilt on an improved plan. The streets were laid in squares round the Ràja's palace which was completed in 1818.

* Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, wrote to the Ràja on March 7, 1823 expressing his satisfaction at the reports he had received from Lt. Col. Blackburne about the Ràja's administration and announcing the appointment of Col. Robert Scott, C. B. as Resident at Tanjore and Governor's Agent with the Ràja's *samastānam*.

In 1812, the Ràja and his brother set an example to their people by getting themselves vaccinated.

The Ràja built excellent bungalows at Pichutàmpaṭṭi to the south of the capital, Viràlimalai and Ādanakkóṭṭai for the convenience of European travellers and distinguished guests.

In 1825 the State suffered from a severe drought.

The finances of the State in the time of this Ruler have been briefly noticed on page 480 (Vol. I.)

RAGHUNÁTHA TONḌAIMÁN. (1825—1839).

Contemporary Rulers.

Governors of Madras.—

Sir Thomas Munro. (1820—1827).

Henry Sullivan Graeme. (1827).

S. R. Lushington. (1827—1832).

Sir Frederick Adam. (1832—1837).

George Edward Russell. (1837).

Lord Elphinstone. (1837—1842).

As Ràja Vijaya Raghunàtha Tonḍaimàn died without issue, his brother and legal heir Raghunàtha Tonḍaimàn ascended the musnud after him. His ceremonial installation took place on the 20th of July.

Character of Raja Raghunatha Tondaiman. "The public and private character of Ràja Raghunàtha Tondaimàn Bahadur stood in the highest rank. He was the just and enlightened ruler of his people, their kind and benevolent master, and the faithful and devoted ally of the British Government. He was high principled, candid and sincere, and to deceit of any kind he was a total stranger".*

The Raja's Charities. One of the first public acts of the Ràja was to perpetuate the name of his brother and to secure salvation for his soul by building about four miles to the east of the town an Agrahàram of twenty houses—all on the same plan

* From a memorandum prepared by Captain Maclean, Resident.

and of the same size, which he named Vijaya Raghunāthapuram after his brother and presented lands to deserving Brahmins. To secure merit for himself, he built another Agrahāram on the northern bank of the Vellār opposite to Kaḍayakkudi Agrahāram and presented it to Brahmins under the name of Prasanna-Raghunāthapuram.

The Rāja's pilgrimage to Rāmēśwaram. Soon after making these grants, the Rāja started (in February 1827) on a pilgrimage to Rāmēśwaram to perform the customary rites for the peace of his brother's soul.

Boundary disputes. There were some boundary disputes between the State and the Tanjore District and some others relating to the boundary between the State and Trichinopoly. Most of these were settled by arbitration.

A question of jurisdiction in criminal trials. In 1829, and in 1834, the question of jurisdiction in criminal trials was raised and finally decided in 1836 in favour of the Tonḍaimān. It was decided in 1834 by the Governor-General in Council that the subjects of Puḍukkóṭṭai and other Indian States should be always amenable to the British Courts for crimes and heinous offences committed within the British territory, but "that this practice should not be reciprocal, such a distinction being a proper prerogative of the paramount power". These rules made a very distressing impression on the mind of the Tonḍaimān. The Rāja felt that his people would no longer look up to him as an independent prince enjoying all the authority of a sovereign.

After obtaining from the Rāja detailed information relating to the Courts, the laws and criminal procedure in the State, the Resident made a strong representation on the subject to the Governor. The representation had the desired effect and the Tonḍaimān was informed by the Resident (April, 1836) that "the Government was prepared to deliver over offenders being British subjects, to be tried in His Excellency the Rāja's Courts, at the requisition of the Resident".

The Resident wrote in December, 1836, as follows:—

“ Your Excellency perhaps does not know that the jurisdiction which has been conferred on you by the Government of India and also by the Madras Government is not possessed by the Ràja of Travancore ”.

Another order strengthening the Ràja's position was now passed by the Madras Government. In forwarding to the Ràja a copy of an endorsement made by order of the Madras Government on petitions addressed to them by some of the Ràja's subjects, the Resident informed him that “ His Excellency would observe that those people were desired to abstain from submitting similar complaints in future”, that “ the Government would not allow His Excellency's just authority as Ràjah to be disputed or insulted ”, and that “ his people would look to him and consider him as their just and paternal Prince and Ruler ”.

Conferment of the title of “ His Excellency ” and other honours on the Raja. In the letter quoted above, we find the Ràja addressed by the title of “ His Excellency ”. We may here mention when and how this distinction was conferred on the Ràja. In March, 1830 the Tonḍaimàn received the honorary title of “ His Excellency ” from the Governor which was from that time recognised by the Governor-General of India in written communications to the Tonḍaimàn. From a letter written to Colonel Blackburne on the 2nd of April, 1830, we learn that the communication of the grant of the title was received by the Ràja in Public Darbar with due honour and that a salute of 21 guns was fired on the occasion. The Court of Directors approved in their letter dated 27th of February, 1835, “ the mark of consideration that had been shown to the deserving Chief on the ground of his own merits and of the attachment to the British Government so uniformly and zealously manifested by his ancestors ”.

In 1830, the Ràja visited Trichinopoly twice, once to meet the Governor, and on the next occasion, to be present at a

Review of the 4th Regiment Light Cavalry. He was received with all due honours and compliments by the guards on duty, and a salute of 19 guns was fired on His Excellency the Rāja's approach opposite the Golden Rock.

Abolition of "Sayer" or Land-customs. The Nawab of Carnatic and the Tonḍaimān each levied 'Sayer' duties on goods imported from each other's territory,—an arrangement that continued even after the company took over the administration of the Carnatic. In special cases, exemption from the levy of duties was applied for. The amount realised by the collection of such duties in the State was at this time more than Rs. 15,000. "There were more than 220 articles on which Sayer duty was charged, most of them at the rate of one Gold Fanam or 2 annas per Tolam (தொலம்) weight of 120 Pullums (புல்லம்) or 9½ lbs.; but the rate varied according to the articles. The duty was payable only once. Goods brought from the Company's Territories or in Transit thereto paid an 'ad valorem duty' of 2½ per cent".* Almost every article of utility or luxury that passed from one territory to another was examined at the Chowki Stations, where the customs were collected. The Chowkidars, who were in charge of the work, were generally dishonest, and various were the vexations of those who had to pass through the Chowki stations. In 1837, the Madras Government confined the duties to 36 articles.

By Act VI of 1844, Sayer duties were altogether abolished in the British Territory, except on certain goods passing from or into what was described as "foreign territory". Pudukkóttai, as an Indian State, was declared "foreign territory" under the Act, but when the Rāja† explained that Pudukkóttai was a poor State and that it was inequitable that his State should be treated as a foreign country, it was arranged that Sayer duties should be levied neither by the Tonḍaimān nor by the British

* Mr. Bayley's *Report on Pudukkóttai*—dated July 7, 1841.

† Rāja Rāmachandra Tonḍaimān, the next Ruler.

on any article passing from the territory of the one into the other. The Ràja greatly appreciated this concession.

Other matters of interest. We may mention here that a fruitless attempt was made to introduce the Kàvéri water into the State. The Resident commended the Ràja's request to the consideration of the Governor who was also disposed to meet his wishes. The Court of Directors feared, however, that the project would cost a considerable sum of money, and the matter was shelved. A British Post office was opened in the capital.

In 1825, the rains failed, and the drought was followed in May 1927 by a terrific hurricane.

In 1837, there was a drought of some severity in certain parts of the State, and the Ràja made arrangements for purchasing and storing paddy. The Governor, Sir Frederick Adam, wrote to the Ràja in March, 1837, that "Colonel Maclean had very recently mentioned to him a fresh proof of the just and beneficial principles which regulated His Excellency's conduct in the paternal care he was evincing by providing for the wants of his people, who were suffering from the effects of the drought".

The financial position of State in this reign has been noticed on pages 480—1, (Vol. I).

Family Affairs of the Raja.

Birth of an heir to the Ràja. In October, 1829, a son and heir was born to Ràja Raghunàtha Tonḍaimàn, who was given the name of Ràmachandra Tonḍaimàn. The Resident wrote to the Ràja that a child to inherit his honours had alone been wanting to complete his happiness and trusting that God who had been pleased to bestow this great blessing on the Ràja would also be pleased to make the child a worthy descendant of the Tonḍaimàn family.

In 1831, another son was born, who was named Tīrumalai Tonḍaimàn.

Marriages of the Ràja's daughters. On the 15th of May, 1828, the Ràja's eldest daughter was married to Raṅgan Pallavaràyar, a Jàgirdàr of distinction. The Resident who had been invited to the marriage, presented the Ràja with a khilàt of congratulation, "to show that the descendants of the faithful Toṇḍaimàn had claims upon the gratitude and good offices of the Hon'ble Company". The Ràja's second daughter was married to R. Raghunàthaswàmi Panṛikondràṇ on the 26th of June, 1831.

Political.

Interview with the Governor at Viràlimalai. In August, 1826, the Toṇḍaimàn had an interview at Viràlimalai with His Excellency the Governor of Madras, who was then touring in the Southern Districts of the Presidency. From a memorandum of the interview which was prepared and despatched for the information of Colonel Blackburne in England, we learn that the Governor complimented the Ràja on his "speaking English very well", asked him why he called General Blackburne his father, and informed him that he knew well the history of his ancestors.

The Ràja visited Trichinopoly twice in 1830. On the first occasion, he interviewed the Governor who was on the way to Madras after visiting Travancore. On the second visit, as stated above, he was present at a Review of the 4th Regiment Light cavalry.

Death of the Raja. On the 13th of July, 1839, Ràja Raghunàtha Toṇḍaimàn died. The Ràja was an enlightened ruler bent on promoting the happiness of his people. Successive Residents had the highest respect for him, and one of them, Mr. Thomas Maclean, was never tired of expressing his appreciation of the benevolence and uprightness of character of His Excellency, whom he called "the father of his people". The Governor on hearing of his death communicated to his successor "his sense of the exemplary manner in which the Ràja

discharged the important duties of his station and of his fidelity and attachment to the British Government". We may here note that in consideration of the Ràja's culture, he was enrolled as a patron of the Madras Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society "to promote by every means in his power any inquiries or researches which might tend to facilitate the very laudable and desirable objects which the society had in view."

RÁMACHANDRA TONÐAIMÁN. (1839—1886).

Contemporary Rulers.

Governors of Madras :—

Lord Elphinstone. (1837—1842).

Marquis of Tweedale. (1842—1848).

Henry Dickinson. (1848).

Sir Henry Pottinger. (1848—1854).

Daniel Elliot. (1854).

Lord Harris. (1854—1859).

Sir Charles Trevelyan. (1859—1860).

William Ambrose Morehead. (1860).

Sir Henry G. Ward. (1860—1861).

William Ambrose Morehead. (1860).

Sir William Denison. (1861—1863).

Edward Maltby. (1863—1866).

Lord Napier. (1866—1872).

Alexander John Arbuthnot. (1872).

Lord Hobart. (1872—1875).

William Rose Robinson. (1875).

Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. (1875—1880).

William P. Adam. (1880—1881).

William Huddleston. (1881).

Sir M. E. Grant Duff. (1881—1886).

Regency administration during the minority. Ràja Ramachandra Tonðaimán was a minor nine years old at the time of his father's death. Agreeably to the instructions that the late Ràja had left the Madras Government approved of the administration being conducted, during the minority of the Ràja by "the Sirkeel, the Fouzdar and other officers in communication with the Ranee". Both the Ràni and the

Resident had the highest confidence in the Foujdâr Appà Aiyar, who for the time being was the most influential man in the State, the Sirkîl Soiróba Nàig being of too diffident a nature to assert himself.

In September, 1839, the Government resolved upon continuing the title of " His Excellency " to the Ràja.

Mr. Bayley's Instructions to the Ministers. Veñkappa Sérvaikar ' who posed as a man of rank ', the sons-in-law of the late Ràja and two relatives of the Ràni complained to the Madras Government against alleged acts of oppression and injustice by the Foujdâr. The Madras Government directed Mr. Bayley, the Resident, to reside at Pudukkóttai as much as possible during the Ràja's minority and ' to take the immediate superintendence and control of the business of the country, which was to continue to be conducted by the ministers of the Ràja '. On receipt of this order, the Resident visited Pudukkóttai and submitted a report to Madras which included the rules he had prescribed for the guidance of the ministers. Besides general rules stating how the Police and the Courts of Law should conduct themselves, Mr. Bayley required the ministers to keep a diary signed by both of them containing details of communications and petitions received and the orders passed thereon, not to spend more than Rs. 100 at any one time without the previous sanction of the Resident, not to grant any new *jáglr*, *amaram* or *úliam* unless for very particular reasons and then only with the Resident's knowledge, not to enhance or reduce the salaries of public servants, not to levy any new tax, and to prevent the carrying of earth-salt into the British Districts.

Under the supervision of the Political Agent,* the State was well administered during the remaining years of the minority. The administration paid off all debts and had a surplus which they invested with the British Government.

* In 1841, the Residency at Tanjore was abolished and the charge of Pudukkóttai was entrusted to the Collector of Madura.

The Revenue rules in force in the Madras Presidency were introduced in the State. The salaries of public servants were made attractive.

The Raja assumes direct control. Towards the close of 1844 the Ràja was invested with ruling powers, his ministers being instructed to report direct to him but to keep the Political Agent informed of all disbursements of money and dismissals of public servants.

The Raja's marriages. On the 13th of June, 1845, the Ràja and his brother were married to the daughters of the Zamindàr of Kallàkóttai in the Tanjore District. The Political Agent was present on the occasion and presented the Ràja and his brother with Khillats and a *Vey Sámarai* or white yak's tail.* On the 31st of August, 1848, the Ràja married the first daughter of the Neduvàsal Zamindàr.

Reforms carried out under the guidance of Mr. John Blackburne, Political Agent. (1846). The State had a surplus, part of which the Ràja wisely spent on the improvement of roads and tanks. He built more chatrams and enlarged the Taluk offices. He built a spacious jail in the Capital. He then abolished *sayer* and cancelled all monopolies except the preparation of earth-salt.

The Political Agent then transferred to the Ràja full administrative powers. The Ràja was much attached to Mr. Blackburne whom he called 'his unole', and as a mark of gratitude, he opened the Town Hospital on October 14, 1851, and planted in it a stone with the inscription—"In the name of John Blackburne Esquire, the late Political Agent at Poodocottah by his affectionate nephew, His Excellency Ràjah Ramachendra Tonḍimàn Behaudur".† It was then arranged that the hospital should be maintained with a part of the Fund that formed the endowment for charities at Benares.

* A royal insignia.

† See P. B. I. 887.

Ministerial changes (1854—1878). In January, 1854, R. Annaswamy Aiyar, the Faujdār, was appointed Sarkīl in consideration of the faithful and important services rendered to the State by his father, Appā Aiyar, and of his own ability and experience in Revenue matters. In December, 1863, Bhavāni Śāṅkar Rao became Sarkīl.

Disturbances raised by Venkannan Servaikar and his adherents. 1853—4. Some years after the Rāja had been entrusted with the sole charge of affairs he was misled by evil advisers. The remonstrances of successive Political Agents, who warned him both by official and private correspondence to preserve the good name of his family by not associating with evil counsellors had no effect on him, and he plunged deeper and deeper into debt. The eldest brother of the Junior Rāni was also fomenting disaffection. Some designing and selfish men in the State headed by Venkannan Śervaiṅkar stirred up the people to open rebellion.

Venṅannan Śervaiṅkar was simply an *Uḷiyakār* and so lower in rank than a *comman Śervaiṅkar*. He had proved disloyal and ungrateful and been removed for misconduct in the time of Rāja Raghunātha Tonḍaimān Bahadūr. He set the Sarkar authorities at defiance and persuaded some of the Amarakārs or military servants of the State not to attend to their duties, and encouraged others not to pay kist, but to carry away by force the produce of the Sarkar lands. The band of insurgents rapidly multiplied. This unsatisfactory state of things was brought to the notice of the British Government who sent a military force to the State in the middle of 1854, and quelled the rebellion. Part of the force remained for some time longer to prevent further disturbances. Krishṇan Panṇikondār of Kattakkuricchi, one of the principal rebels and a close relative of the Rāja, was dispossessed of his *Jivitam* lands, deported to Madurai and paid a subsistence allowance. The lands of the other rebels including Venṅannan Śervaiṅkar, were placed under attachment and some of therebels were confined in the Puḍukkóṭṭai Jail.

The allowance granted to Muttuswàmi Panrikonḍàr, a brother-in-law of the Ràja, was discontinued in August, 1854, because he had brought discredit on the family by "irregular" conduct during his constant residence at Pudukkóttai.

Mr. Parker's Report on the disturbances. In submitting his final report, dated 1st September 1854, on the disturbances, Mr. Parker, the Political Agent, while exonerating the Ràja from any charge of oppression such as might have in some measure justified the revolt, gave it as his opinion that the people had just cause of complaint against him for mismanagement of public affairs, and therefore recommended that he should be deprived of all share in the direct management of the finances. The proposal was approved by the Madras Government and the Ràja's powers of administration were curtailed, and the Political Agent ordered to exercise direct control over the administration and finances of the State. Appointments made by the Ràja were subject to revision by the Political Agent. The Ràja's personal expenses were restricted to his privy-purse allowance. An annual report was to be submitted on the administration of the State. The Political Agent was empowered to expel disorderly persons from the State. The Ràja was to preside in the Chief Court with a Judge and Sarkl as co-adjutors.

In 1856, Krishṇan Panrikonḍàr, who had been sent to Madura as a punishment for having joined the rioters in 1854, was allowed to return to Pudukkóttai. In 1857, the Political Agent recommended that the persons in confinement for their connection with the riots of 1854 might be set at liberty.

A check to Marathi preponderance. The Madras Government entirely concurred with the Agent in the propriety of abolishing Maràtha accounts, and of substituting English figures, and desired that measures should at once be adopted to introduce the change. The Agent was also to discontinue corresponding with the Ràja or his minister in Maràthi, if that language had hitherto been used.

Even so late as 1875, Mr. Pennington wrote as follows about the preponderance of Maràtha Brahmins in the State:—

“There are two subjects of universal complaint in Pudukkóttai, the one is the Amàni system and the other is the paramount influence of Maràtha Brahmans, bound together by the closest ties of relationship and interest. Every one has his own private grievances of course, but all are agreed on these two subjects and it would be difficult to say which is the most execrated”.

Some Revenue reforms. In August, 1854, some burdensome taxes were abolished, such as jungle fees, fees on picotahs, and taxes on oil-presses, bangle earth, dyes, snuff, oil, chunam, and trees that were not fruit-bearing. In 1861-2 Mohturpha tax* was for the first time introduced. There was some violent opposition to the levying of the tax, which was abolished for a time. It was finally reintroduced in 1874.

Some Jagir matters. On 29th of June 1842, a proclamation was issued by the Political Agent restating a previous order of 1820, that Jàgirdàrs were merely to enjoy the produce of their lands but should not alienate any portion of them. They were also required not to assume any of the honours due only to the Ràja.

Judicial affairs.† In 1840, since the Ràja was a minor, the Sarkil directed the Judges of the several Courts to pronounce their own judgments, giving the parties, however, the option to appeal to His Excellency the Ràja. In 1844, the Kotwal's Office became the Chinnakkadan Sabhà or Small Causes Court, to which additional Judges were appointed.

In 1860, the practice of appealing to the Nyàya Sabhà from the decrees of the Mudra Sabhà was stopped, and appeals from all the Courts in the State were made to the Huzur Office, which thus became the only Appeal Court in the State.

* For details see page 385 (Vol. I.)

† For details see pages 426—428 (Vol. I.)

In June and July, 1866, there was another reorganisation of the Courts into (1) an Appeal Court with an Appeal Judge. (2) a Civil and Sessions Court of three Judges formed by the union of the Nyàya Sabhà and the Danda Sabhà, (3) a Small Cause Court, and (4) five Munsif's Courts for the five Taluks.

The Ràja, the Sarkil and the Appeal Judge sat in the Appeal Court. The Ràja presided, but all correspondence to the Appeal Court was addressed to the Sarkil, who was in charge of the records. The Sarkil conducted the Appeal Court in the presence of the Ràja on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays.

Mr. Morris' scheme.* The scheme of Mr. G. Lee Morris, Political Agent, for the revision of Revenue and Judicial establishments was introduced in 1868. Its main features were the reduction of the large number of employees on low salaries, the abolition of the Abkari and Mohturpha establishments, the payment of salaries sufficient to secure the services of competent and respectable men, the reduction of the number of Taluks to three,† and the assimilation of the Revenue and Judicial establishments to those of the Madras districts. The Deputy Kàrbàr became the Joint Magistrate, and the Kàrbàr Chief Magistrate and Head of the Revenue Department.

An order of the Madras Government dated 31st January, 1868, approved the appointment of three Deputy Tahsildars, who were to exercise magisterial powers with head-quarters at Viràlimalai, Karambakkudi and Kìlànìlai.

Other reforms. In 1875 Mr. Pennington, Political Agent, submitted a report giving a complete account of the system of administration in force in the State, and recommending that the Ràja should be deprived of all direct share in the administration of justice, a course which the Madras Government were unwilling to take.

* See pages 356—7 (Vol. I.)

† Àlaṅgudý, Kolattúr and Tirumayam. (Karambakkudi, Kìlànìlai and Viràlimalai became sub-divisions or *firkas*.)

In May, 1875, a Police Force was organised on the British model, and placed under the orders of the Superintendent of Police, Trichinopoly, as ex-officio Superintendent of the Department, and in November, 1875 the Department of Registration of Assurances was organised with a District Registrar and three Sub-Registrars.

In 1857, an Anglo-Vernacular Free School was opened at the capital. In 1867, a staff of trained vaccinators was organised. Consequent on the outbreak of cholera in 1867-8 and 1871, and of guinea-worm in 1871, the tanks in the Town were cleansed. On April 10, 1872, the census of the State was taken for the first time.

Transfer of the Political Agency. On September 27, 1865, the Political Agency for Pudukkóttai was transferred from the Collector of Madura to the Collector of Tanjore, and on September 18, 1874, to the Collector of Trichinopoly.

Political matters (1839—1878)

The Rāja's visit to Trichinopoly. His Excellency the Rāja visited Trichinopoly on the 30th of August, 1845, when a full troop of the 4th Regiment Light Cavalry, under the command of a Captain and in Review order, was drawn up and escorted His Excellency to his place of residence, the Nawab's House at Woriyur; a detachment of Artillery was paraded on the Bridge exercising ground and fired a salute of 19 guns, and the Grenadier Company of one of the Native Corps in the Garrison under the command of a Subahdar and in full dress was in attendance at the Nawab's House to receive His Excellency.

The Queen's Proclamation of 1858. In 1858 extracts from the *Proclamation announcing the assumption of the Government of India by Her Majesty the Queen* relating to the scrupulous observance of the treaties entered into with the Indian Princes were communicated to the Rāja.

The Ràja's title withdrawn. In 1859, the title of 'His Excellency' was withdrawn from the Ràja because he had involved himself during fasli 1267 (1857-8) in spite of previous promises of amendment, in additional debt to the amount of 5½ lakhs of rupees. The Governor, Sir Charles Trevelyan, wrote to the Ràja that he trusted that his good conduct would be such as to permit him to restore the title to him at some future time. In 1862, it was ordered that no disbursement should be made from the treasury except under the orders of the Sarkil. The Secretary of State for India warned the Ràja that he could expect no favour from the British Government so long as he conducted himself in such an extravagant manner.

Lord Canning's Sanad. 30th April 1862. The following *Sanad issued under the orders of Her Most Gracious Majesty* (Queen Victoria) and signed by Lord Canning, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, was sent to the Ràja.

"To Ràjah Ramachandra Tondaiman Behaudur Poodoo-cottah.

"Her Majesty being desirous that Governments of the several Princes and Chiefs of India who govern their own territories should be perpetuated, and that the representation and dignity of their houses should be continued, in fulfilment of this desire, this Sunnud is given to you to convey to you the assurance that on failure of natural heirs, the British Government will recognize and confirm any adoption of a successor made by yourself or by any future Chief of your State that may be in accordance with Hindoo Law and the customs of your

PRIME

"Be assured that nothing shall disturb the engagement thus made to you so long as your house is loyal to the Crown and faithful to the conditions of the treaties, grants, or engagements which record its obligations to the British Government.

(Signed) Canning".

Visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh to Madras. Restoration of the title of His Excellency. On the 8th February, 1870, a sum of Rs. 20,000 was sanctioned for the Ràja's visit to Madras to be present at the reception of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, and on the 16th February, 1870, the Government of Madras ordered that the Tonḍaimàn Ràja should receive a salute of 13 guns at Trichinopoly and Madras, and that the title of "His Excellency", should be restored to him.

In March, 1870, His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh visited Madras and His Excellency Ràja Ramachandra Tonḍaimàn Bahadúr had an interview with him.

Under orders of the Governor-General in Council, the Madras Government disallowed the salute sanctioned in February, 1870 on the 18th December, 1873.

The visit of the Prince of Wales to Southern India. (December 10, 1875.) During the tour of His Royal Highness, Edward Prince of Wales in Southern India, the Ràja paid his homage to the Prince at Madura. His Royal Highness sent the Ràja "a silver medal, with a ring bearing His Royal Highness' cypher, with a hope that His Excellency would wear them as mementos of his visit to Southern India and of the pleasure His Royal Highness derived from making His Excellency's personal acquaintance".

The assumption of the title of Empress of India by Her Majesty the Queen. The Ràja was informed in August, 1876, that it was the intention of the Government to proclaim publicly on the 1st of January, 1877, at the Presidency towns and at all the headquarter stations of the several Collectorates, the assumption by Her most Gracious Majesty the Queen of the title of "Empress of India". A copy of the *Fort St. George Gazette Extraordinary* containing His Excellency the Viceroy's Proclamation together with the Proclamation by the Queen was also received. The Ràja celebrated the occasion by holding a grand

Darbar at Pudukkóttai, and released seven life-prisoners and twenty other prisoners.

Adoption by the Rāja of Pudukkóttai of his eldest daughter's third son as heir to the Rāj. On the 2nd of March, 1877, His Excellency the Rāja forwarded letters to the Government of Madras and to the Government of India under a covering letter to the Political Agent, stating that in view of his failing health, and in conformity with the tenor of the special Sanad granted to him by His Excellency Lord Canning, he had adopted Mārtāṇḍa Bhairava Pallavarāyar, (born on November 26, 1875) his eldest daughter's third son, and had thereby relieved himself of all anxiety as to the succession.

On the 15th January, 1878, orders were received from the Viceroy and Governor-General of India "recognising and confirming the adoption by the Rājah of Poodocottah of his eldest daughter's third son as heir to the Rāj in supersession of the claims of the son of his deceased brother". On the 23rd of January, the Madras Government communicated the order to the Political Agent, who forwarded it to the Rāja on the 3rd of February. The Rāja "could find no words to express his humble obligations and sincere gratitude for the unparalleled kindness and estimation.....and prayed to the God Almighty for the most prosperous, predominant and everlasting Rule of the British nation—a Sovereignty most impartial and Divine". On 10th February, 1878, a Darbar was held in connection with the confirmation by the Viceroy and Governor-General of the adoption, and some prisoners were released.

A. Sashia Sastriar—Dewan of the State.

"At the kind invitation of his Excellency the Rāja and under the encouraging auspices of Mr. Sewell, the Political Agent, and of the Members of the Government of Madras, who were all deeply interested in the well-being of the Pudukkóttai State", A. Sashia Sastriar took charge of the administration of the State as Sarkil on the 8th of August, 1878. The

selection was suggested by Sir Madhava Row* who had occasion some time previous to this to pay a visit to Pudukkóttai.

The Governor of Madras, His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, expressed his gratification at the appointment and had no doubt that the arrangement would be attended with early benefit to the State; and later on, the Secretary of State for India expressed his satisfaction that the Ràja should have secured the services of so competent a minister.

At the suggestion of the Ràja and on the recommendation of the Political Agent, the Governor-in-council of Madras approved on the 29th May, 1885, of the designations of *Sarkil*, *Kárbár* and *Deputy Kárbár*, which were not familiar to the officers of the Political Department, being changed into those of *Dewán*, *Dewán Peishkár* and *Deputy Peishkár*. The change came into effect on 1st July, 1885, and Sashia was the first administrator of the State to be designated *Dewan*.

Reforms of Sashia Sastriar.

The abolition of the 'Amáni' or the sharing system.† The Amáni system of settling the revenue on lands under which the ryot was a mere tenant at will, was abolished, so that the lands which were held on this tenure became the private property of those that held them, subject to the payment of a fixed assessment.

The reorganisation of the Dévastánam Department. The office of Dévastánam Manager was abolished. The supervision of the *Dévastánam* institutions and their establishments together with the accounts of receipts and expenditure connected therewith was transferred to the Tahsildars.

* Sir Madhava Row pressed Sashia Sastriar "to vouchsafe to Pudukota what it so much required—the services of a first rate man", observing—"Here is a suffering patient and here is a first rate doctor (Sashia was then living at Trichinopoly). What can be more desirable than that they should be brought together"?

† See pages 346—350.

The resumption of the Western Palace Jágir. The Madras Government ordered the resumption of the Western Palace Jágir on the 14th of May, 1881, and the grant of a cash pension of Rs. 15,000 a year to the members of the Jágirdar's family.

The Pallavankulam in the Town was completely drained, and the slush and silt of years were removed with the result that guinea-worm that "seemed to be the everlasting curse of Pudukota" was largely stamped out, and "those who year after year bore the badge of the curse came to breathe free and think of the return of summer without a shudder".

A Girls' School was opened in the town on 13th June 1883. The English school started in 1857 at the Capital was raised to the grade of a Second Grade College. In 1883 the supervision of the State schools by a British Inspector of Schools which had been going on from April, 1878, was discontinued. For the encouragement of Primary education, grants-in-aid rules were framed in 1885. The powers of registration were withdrawn from Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars, and separate Sub-Registrars were appointed. The State Press was considerably enlarged, and the State Gazette was published for the first time in 1878. In the same year, the Administration Report of the State was printed for the first time. A Regulation was promulgated embodying in a systematic enactment the rules that had been in force from time to time for the control of the manufacture and sale of earth-salt, and another introducing into the State the Acts of the British Indian Legislature relating to procedure in civil and criminal cases (1882).

A combined British Post and Telegraph office was opened in the capital in 1884. In the same year casuarina plantations were started on the banks of the Vellár in order to create a new source of fuel supply.

The Treasury full. "For the first time in the history of Pudukota (in 1883) there was literally no room in the Treasury for the money that had accumulated in it, and it was thought

advisable, rather than so much money should be idle, to invest the surplus in Government securities, not only as a source of some profit but generally as an Insurance Fund against future years of adversity. There was no intention of hoarding, for expenditure on public works was allowed to the fullest amount that could have been carefully and economically spent ”.

Political matters since 1878.

His Highness the Rāja's Tours. His Highness the Rāja started on the 30th May, 1884, on a tour to the Trichinopoly and Madura Districts. After visiting the shrine at Nerūr and the temple at Madura, the Rāja arrived on the 30th of July at Trichinopoly to wait on Their Excellencies the Governor and the Commander-in-chief, Sir Frederick Roberts, who were then on a visit to that station and with whom His Highness had cordial interviews.

His Highness made a second tour in November and December, 1885, to Trichinopoly and Madura, with the object chiefly of fulfilling a vow, which he had taken on his previous visit, to light one hundred thousand lamps in the temple at Madura. His Highness left Pudukkóttai on the 9th of November, 1885, and after visiting the shrine at Nerūr, went to Madura where he fulfilled his vow. After visiting the shrine of Guṇasékham in the Trichinopoly District, His Highness returned to Pudukkóttai on the 6th of December.

The Rāja rewarded. In recognition of the great improvement in the character and tone of the administration after the appointment of Sashia Sastriar as Sarkil, the Madras Government forwarded to the Governor-General of India an appeal from the Sarkil for the restoration of his salute to the Rāja. In 1884 sanction was obtained from Her Majesty the Queen- Empress of India to a salute of 11 guns to the Rāja and his successors as a hereditary distinction. Simultaneously, the Government of Madras conferred on the Rāja the title of “His Highness”. A grand Darbar was held on the 19th of May, 1884, to

celebrate the happy event. The Political Agent, after repeating his assurances that the Tonḍaimān of to-day would not be found less loyal than his ancestors, should occasion arise, handed over to the Rāja the communication of Government announcing the conferring of a hereditary salute of 11 guns and the title of "His Highness" on him. To celebrate the occasion a number of convicts were pardoned and set free.

The Governor further permitted His Highness the Rāja to prefix to his name and titles the appellation *Śrī Brihadambā Dās*.

*The first gubernatorial visit to the Capital, 1886.** His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, G. C. I. E., Governor of Madras, was the first Governor to visit the Rāja in his capital. His Excellency arrived a little before noon on Tuesday, the 2nd of February, 1886, and left on the afternoon of Thursday the 4th. A grand Darbar was held on the occasion. A levee was held, at which the Rāja presented to His Excellency all the members of his family, officers and Sardars of the State, and distinguished citizens of the Town. There was the usual display of fireworks, etc. His Excellency also witnessed a display of boomerang-throwing.

Death of Raja Ramachandra Tondaiman. (15th April, 1886). His Highness Rāja Rāmachandra Tonḍaimān

* Sir M. E. G. Duff, has recorded in his diary as follows :—

" * * * No Governor had ever before visited the little State, somewhat smaller than two Surreys, which owns the sway of the Tonḍaimān, and I was naturally received with much *empressement*. At the fireworks on the night of the 3rd, there may have been well on to 30,000 men. Everywhere it rained wreaths and nautch girls". In his official Review, the Governor recorded as follows :—" * * * The last Rāja of Pudukota (Ramachandra Tonḍaimān had died meanwhile) fell at one time under the displeasure of the paramount power, but I had the satisfaction long before his death of seeing the agreeable relations, which prevailed between this Government and his family, completely restored. Pudukota has advanced considerably in recent years under the care of the experienced and able minister whom we have now nominated Regent for the grandson of the late Rāja who is still a boy. I trust that he will grow up to be a credit to the Government, with which his ancestors were so long connected "

Bahadúr died at the age of 57. All the public offices and institutions of the State were closed for sixteen days as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE. (19TH CENTURY).

Relation with the Paramount Power. The Nawab of the Carnatic professed great friendship for the Tonḍaimàns,* referred to them as his "true and steadfast allies", and treated them with far greater consideration than he did his other vassals and poligars. The affairs of the Nawab became very unsatisfactory towards the close of the 18th century. He contracted heavy debts, which in 1785 amounted to £ 4,440,000 equivalent to more than four crores of rupees, "producing annuities at their several rates of interest of £ 623,000, of which £ 383,000 stood chargeable to the revenue of the Carnatic". His debts formed a subject of Parliamentary inquiry. Reduced to such straits, the Nawab made all sorts of extravagant claims upon the Tonḍaimàn and demanded from him what may be described as *feudal relief* which often took the form of *nazars*. Vijaya Raghunàtha had to pay a *nazar* of 50,000 to 75,000 pagodas to secure the Nawab's recognition of his succession, another large sum when the title of *Rāja Bahadúr* was conferred on him, and yet another sum when Muhammad Ali's successor, Umdat-ul-Umara confirmed the title. The Tonḍaimàn had to satisfy the rapacity of the Nawab's underlings at Trichinopoly by supplying draught bullocks with sacks, sheep, fowls, money, *etc.* He had to make the annual *Muharram* and *Ramzán* presents, entertain and reward the *Fakirs* who came with the Nawab's recommendations and frequently oblige the Nawab with 'small loans'. The Tonḍaimàn had been from the days of the Nayaks the *Araṣukávalkár* of Trichinopoly,† and in the exercise of that office was called upon by the Nawab to detect cases of theft, and supply guards during the sowing and harvesting seasons.

* Letter of the Rāja of Tanjore, to the Governor, dated May, 9, 1783.

† See page 759.

"You pay no tribute to the company, no presents to individuals", once wrote Sir William Blackburne to the Rāja. "One of the best allies that the Company ever had could not but be an object of respect to all the King's subjects", wrote Sir Thomas Strange, the first Chief Justice of Madras. These observations summarize the altered state of affairs under the overlordship of the Company.

From the beginning, the Company's officers from the Governor downwards, and the Governor-general had been treating the Tonḍaimān as a 'loyal friend and steadfast ally'. The alliance with the British secured to Pudukkóttai, as to many other States, in the words of Lord Wellesely, 'the unmolested exercise of its separate authority within the limits of its established dominion, under the general protection of the British power'*.

* It is rather incomprehensible why Sir William Lee-Warner should have said (*The Protected Princes of India* p. 372):—"Finally those who advance the constitutional theory (of feudal relationship) may find in the position of the Rāja of Benares and in that of Pudukkottai in Madras germs of an idea that the chiefs were rather nobles of the British dominion than sovereigns of petty States." One must hesitate considerably before taking up a position different from that of so reputed an authority. Sir William who bases his conclusions chiefly on Sir Charles Aitchison's collections of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, has overlooked the many official letters that had passed between the Tonḍaimāns and the officers of the Company which clearly define the status of the former. Sir William remarks (p. 39. *ibid*) that "for evidence of his status as a native chief prior to 1862 he (Rāja of Pudukkóttai) can appeal to no treaty or engagement with the British Government". Pudukkóttai had no need for a formal treaty or engagement, since the Tonḍaimāns voluntarily allied themselves with the Company when the latter first interfered in the affairs of the Carnatic to counteract the designs of the French. The Company's officers handsomely acknowledged the Tonḍaimāns' services. One of the earliest communications between the Tonḍaimān and the English, written in Persian and dated 28th September 1755, has this assurance given by Mr. George Pigot, the Governor of Fort St. George—"We shall be solicitous to maintain your *dignity* and *country* which you have received from the Nabob". As to what exactly the Tonḍaimān's *dignity* was, we have the authority of Sir William Blackburne's despatch dated 1822, and referred to on page above, wherein the Tonḍaimān is spoken of as a *native hereditary chief, the Prince and Ruler of an extensive province*.

The inexorable sequence of events in India in the 19th century proved to the British administrators the futility of a policy of 'non-interference' with the Indian States. Successive Governors-general and Viceroys from Lord Hastings saw the need for the British Government to take upon themselves the responsibility for good Government in Indian States. Against this background are to be viewed such events recorded in the preceding pages of this section as may be regarded as constituting interference on the part of the British Government in the internal affairs of the State.

As overlords, the British Government require that the succession to the *gádi* of Pudukkóttai should be recognized by them. In the absence of a heir in the direct male line, the adoption of one by the Ràja had to receive the sanction of the British Government. In 1862 Lord Canning issued to the Ràja a *Sanad* under the orders of Her Majesty the Queen conveying "the assurance that on failure of natural heirs, the British Government will recognize and confirm any adoption of a successor made by yourself or by any future chief of your State that may be in accordance with Hindoo Law and the customs of your race". In 1877 the Viceroy and Governor-general recognized and confirmed "the adoption by the Ràjah of Poodocottah (Ràmachandra Tonḍaimàn) of his eldest daughter's third son as heir to the Ràj in supersession of the claims of the son of his deceased brother".

The Paramount power assumed direct responsibility for the administration of the State whenever the Ràja was a minor. During the minority of Vijaya Raghunàtha Ràya, the Resident undertook the management of the State and the guardianship of the Ràja and his brother, and introduced many salutary reforms. Again during the minority of Ràja Ràmachandra, the Madras Government on the recommendation of the Resident framed rules for the guidance of the Regency council.

We have recorded in the preceding pages some instances of interference by the Residents to set right abuses and to preserve order. They have frequently advised the Ràjas not to run into debt, and even enforced the practice of strict economy by laying down regular rules. In 1854 following on the disturbances in the State caused by Venkaṇṇa Servaikàr and others, the Resident conducted an inquiry and, though he exonerated the Ràja from any charge of oppression, he got some of the powers of the Ràja curtailed temporarily.

It is a matter for gratification that there has been the greatest cordiality between the British Residents and the Toṇḍaimàṇ Ràjas which was perhaps the chief reason for the rapid progress the State made in the 19th century. The State was fortunate in her Political officers. Sir William Blackburne, Mr. Fife, Mr. John Blackburne, Mr. Bayley, and Mr. Pennington, to mention a few, were not only capable statesmen, but brought to bear upon their work an amount of sympathy and understanding which evoked the heartiest response from the Rulers. Ràja Vijaya Raghunàtha Ràya and his brother called Sir William Blackburne their *father*, and Ràja Ràmachandra called Mr. J. Blackburne his *uncle*.

Before 1807, the Toṇḍaimàṇ had made his representations to the Madras Government through his *Vakil*. From that year, the Resident became the channel of communication. When in 1829, the Board of Directors proposed to abolish the Residency of Tanjore and Pudukkóttai, the Ràja wrote to the Governor and Governor-general 'expressing his deep concern' and protesting against the course. Mr. Lushington, the Governor, allowed the office to continue, saying that "it would give him in particular great pain to carry into effect any measure obnoxious to Toṇḍaimàṇ." As a measure of economy, however, the Residency of Tanjore was abolished in 1841. In 1843, the Toṇḍaimàṇ requested that the political charge of the State should be vested in an officer whose "principal residence

was not far from Poodocottah and who could have both time and inclination often to see him, instruct him and give every necessary support and attention to his Darbar." The Political agency was transferred in 1865 to the Collector of Tanjore and in 1874 to the Collector of Trichinopoly.

Administration. Towards the close of the 18th century the head of the administration was designated the Sarkil. From about 1851 the Sarkil was assisted by a Deputy Sarkil. The designation Sarkil was changed to that of Dewan in 1885. The head of the revenue department was the Kàrbàr, now called the Dewan Peishkàr. His assistant was designated the Deputy Kàrbàr.

During the minority of Ràja Raghunàtha (1807—1817), the administration was vested in two managers acting under the advice of the Resident. Between 1814 and 1822(?), there was a Councillor in the place of the Sarkil who was assisted by two subordinate Councillors. During the minority of Ràja Ràmachandra, a council of Regency composed of the Dowager Ràni, the Sarkil and the Fouzdàr carried on the administration; and during that of Ràja Martàṇḍa Bhairava, the Dewan-Regent was the head of the Government.

Army. A statement in Tamil on the administration of the State for 1826—7 gives the following figures as the strength of the State army—"Troopers 26; Sepoys 120; Gunners 30; in addition to 'Carnatic men,' of whom 702 are native officers known as Ràjas (men supposed to be of Ràjput descent), Nayaks, Bargirs, Jamadars, Subahdars; and 6000 are *Amarakars* and *Uliyakars* (camp attendants)". After the cessation of the Carnatic and Póligar wars, the men deteriorated in efficiency, and since they had no regular military duties, they were employed to watch the *amáni* crops. When the service inams were enfranchised in 1888, the militia ceased to exist as a fighting unit.

*Revenue, etc.** With the introduction of a Revenue Settlement in the adjoining British districts, the need for a similar reform in the State became imperative. Ràja Vijaya Raghunàtha revised the *amáni* rates in favour of the ryot. A ryotwari settlement known as *Taram fýsal* was conducted in the Viràlimalai firka in fasli 1278. Another settlement of minor importance was conducted in 1860. The evils of the *amáni* system became more and more pronounced, and Mr. Pennington and Sarkil Bhavàni Śaṅkar Rao worked out some schemes† to remedy them. Sir Sashia Śāstriār finally abolished it and carried out his famous settlement of 1878-9. The resumption of the Western Palace Jàgr, and the enfranchisement of the feudal and other service inams, considerably enriched the treasury.

Other sources of revenue were *Sayer* and *Mohturpha* and manufacture of earth salt.‡ Under the salt convention which the State concluded with the Madras Government in 1887, the manufacture of salt in the State was stopped.§

Other manufactures of note were the smelting of iron, saltpetre, indigo, dyes, weaving of silk and cotton cloths and embroidery. We have mentioned (See page 835) the indigo factory at Karambakkudi. Ochre was largely used in the making of dyes.

The chief crops were rice, *cumbu*, *śamai*, *varagu*, millet, ragi, maize, horse-gram, gingelly, black-gram, green-gram, red-gram, castor, turmeric, tobacco, chillies, betel-vine, sugar-cane and cocoanut.

The *Abkari* policy of the State in this century has been described on pages 392 to 395.

* See Vol. I. pp. 338-356.

† Vol. I. pp. 345-6.

‡ *ibid* pp. 385-387.

§ *ibid* p. 390.

According to the Survey of 1813, the forests* in the State comprised 176 *malaikkādu* or hill jungles and 145 timber forests. Jungles that were not reserved for the chase were leased out for fuel. In 1884 Sir Sashia planted casuarina as an experimental measure.

Justice.† In 1810, a supreme tribunal, named *Nyāya Sabhā*, was established, and in 1811, a Kotwal's office was instituted at the capital which was a Police station, a magistrate's court and a civil court of small causes rolled into one. About 1813, the *Danḍa* and *Mudra Sabhās* came into existence. The *Nyāya Sabhā* exercised both original and appellate jurisdiction. In 1845 the *Huzur Adawlut* court became the Appeal court. In the place of the *Mudra Sabhā*, a small cause court in the Town and Munsiff's courts at each of the Taluk Headquarters were established. The old *Nyāya Sabhā* became in 1866, the *Civil and Sessions Court*. Sir Sashia reorganised the judiciary in 1887 and established the *Chief Court*. He abolished the munsiff's courts and invested the Chief Court Registrar and the rural Sub-Registrars with Small cause powers. Registration was introduced into the State in 1875. The opening of the Kotwal's office in 1811 marks the disappearance of the old Kāvalgār system. A police force‡ was first organised on the British Indian model in 1875. Convicts sentenced to hard labour were originally confined in the Tirumayam Fort. The old jail in the capital was occupied in 1830, and the present jail in 1889.§

Public Health.|| There were outbreaks of cholera in 1859, 1866-7, 1883-4, 1887-1890, 1891-2 and 1899, and of small-pox in 1866-8, 1874-1877, 1884-5, 1889-90 and 1891-2. Vaccination was first introduced in 1812. Rāja Vijaya Raghunātha and his

* See Vol. I. Ch. VI.

† See Vol. I. pages 422-430.

‡ See Vol. I. p. 437.

§ *ibid* p. 444.

|| See Vol. I. Ch. IX.

brother were the first to get vaccinated. In 1866, a vaccinating staff was organised. Sir Sashia had all the drinking water tanks and wells in the Town thoroughly cleansed, and this mitigated considerably the ravages of guinea-worm.

Ràja Ràmachandra opened the Ràja's Free Hospital in 1851. It was removed to its present spacious building in 1883. Not only was treatment free, but a small number of poor in-patients were fed. The subordinate medical staff occasionally visited the villages.

The State suffered from floods* in 1809, 1827 when there was a terrific hurricane, 1884, 1890 and 1893, and from drought between 1866 and 1868, between 1870 and 1880 and between 1889 and 1895, and in 1898.

The capital which originally consisted of irregular streets and narrow lanes was destroyed by fire in 1812. Partly with the State subsidy of 3,000 pagodas that Ràja Vijaya Raghunàtha granted and partly from private funds, the new town was well laid out with broad streets. Conditions however deteriorated again. Encroachments, stagnant drains and silted-up tanks made the town a breeding ground for epidemics. Between 1880 and 1894 Sir Sashia Śastriār, carried out a four-fold programme, namely, improved conservancy, town extension, tank restoration and erection of public buildings, for details of which the reader is referred to pp. 307-8 of Volume I.

Education. Ràja Vijaya Raghunàtha opened a charity school in the town in 1813. A statement on the Administration of the State for 1827-8 records that "Tamil, Telugu, Sanskrit, and Maràthi are learnt widely and English and Persian by a few." This presumably referred only to the capital town. Literacy was imparted in pial schools of which there were many in the State. In 1848 there were 13 Mission schools at work. In 1884 Sir Sashia framed rules for grants-in-aid to

* *ibid* pp. 20-23.

schools that conformed to modern requirements. He appointed an Inspector of Schools, who was charged with the task of opening model schools with a trained staff.

His Highness the Rāja's Free School in the capital grew into a High School. In 1878 it had a graduate Head-master, and in 1880 presented the first batch of students for the Matriculation Examination of the Madras University. In that year, the College department was opened. It was removed to the present building in 1891.*

Religion. The association of Pudukkóttai with the Saint Śrī Sadāsiva attracted to the State many ascetics and religious men. The present Jagadguru of the Śrīngéri maṭham and his two immediate predecessors visited the State chiefly for the reason that 'it had become hallowed by the foot steps of the holy sage.' Śrī Sacchidānanda Śivābhinava Narasimha Bhārati, the late guru of Śrīngéri, highly commended the Toṇḍaiman's veneration for the sage. Śrī Sundarasvāmi, a native of Tinnevely and one of the most revered saints of the century, spent his last days in the State and passed away at Arimalam where a fine temple has been built over his tomb. He lived and worked among the Cheṭṭiyārs and did much to inculcate in them devotion to Śiva. His two famous disciples were Raṅganātha Śivam and Nārāyaṇa Śivam; the latter's remains now lie buried near the Adappaṅkulam in the Town. These saints expounded the Hindu philosophy in the capital for many years. Śrī Sadāsiva Sarasvati, who had been a judge of the Travancore court before he became a monk, came to Pudukkóttai to end his days here. In 1936 the residents of Pudukkóttai built a temple over his tomb which was consecrated by the Saint's disciple Śrī Sacchidānanda Sarasvati Avadūta Svāmi of Sēndamaṅgaḷam near Nāmakkal. There are a number of tombs and maṭhams of non-Brahmin saints, but little is known of their history.

* See pages Vol. I, 278-9.

Charities. The *Brahmadéyams* and a few minor *mányams* were enfranchised in 1888. In 1897, the lands belonging to the temples and other charitable institutions measured more than a lakh of acres, or about 1/6th of the total extent of acres under cultivation in the State, yielding about 2 lakhs of rupees. In that year the *Dévastánam* and *Chatram* lands were amalgamated with the *ayan* lands.

The department of *Dévastánam* and *Charities* also dealt with *chatrams**, endowments to monastic establishments, temple-gardens, and temples outside the State (*Pararásṭram kaṭṭalai*)*. The annual *Dassara* celebration constituted, as it does now, an important charge under this head.

Christianity.† The order of the Jesuits, which had been suppressed by his Holiness the Pope (1773) was re-established in 1814. They again started their activities at Trichinopoly. The church at *Ávúr* was in the possession of the Portuguese and became a matter of dispute between the Jesuits and the Goanese. In 1846 the difference became so acute that the parties resorted to violence. The *Ràja* and the Political Agent had to interfere. When in 1857, the Pope distinctly recognised the jurisdiction of the Goanese mission over these areas, the friction increased. The two parties have since composed their differences. It is on record that the *Ràja* of Pudukkóṭṭai visited *Ávúr* several times and made offerings to the Church.

Protestant mission work was started in the State between 1830 and 1840 by a church of England missionary. In 1845, the American Board Mission at Madura took up the work. In 1848 they offered the Pudukkóṭṭai area to the Leipzig Mission Society which continued to work in the State till 1901, when it was entrusted to the church of Swedish mission consequent upon the separation of the Scandinavian mission from the Leipzig mission.

* See Vol. I. p. 464 for a list of *chatrams*, and p. 466 for a list of the *pararásṭram kaṭṭalais*.

† See pages 99 and 100 (Vol. I.).

The first Protestant missionary to live in the capital of the State was the Rev. K. A. Ouchterlony who in his humble dwelling received visits of the then Ràja.

Islam. One of the important items of *Dévastānam and Charities* was the *Paḷivāsal mānyam* or endowments to mosques and *dargas* or tombs of Mussalman saints. The Toṇḍaimāns made liberal grants to Muslim places of worship in this period. Among the centres of Muslim worship which came into existence in this century are Tirumayam, Mullipaṭṭi near Tirumayam, Ēnappaṭṭi near Pulivalam, Malaikkudipaṭṭi, Anna-vāsal, Tennanṅuḍi, Vayalōgam, Aṇḍakkulam and Ālaṅguḍi.

Literature and Art. The Toṇḍaimāns emulated the Marātha Rājas of Tanjore in the patronage that they showed to men of learning. Késava Bhàrati of Sēndamaṅgalam wrote his *Kapilai nāṭakam* based on the legend of the Tirugókarnam temple. *Kumaréśasatakam*, a century of verses on the God of Kumaramalai, composed by Muttumínākṣi Kavirāyar also called Gurupādadāsa, has won a place in Tamil literature. Poems on the shrines at Tirumayam by Subba Aiyar of Rāyavaram, an incomplete poem on Tiruvaraṅgulam by Professor Mīnākṣisundaram Pillai of Trichinopoly, poems on Aḷagiya Nācci Amman of Ponnamarāvati and Vīramākāli Amman of Ambukkóvil, the *Sāntanāthēśvarar Padiṟruppattantādi* or a century of verses on God Sāntanātha in the capital by Góvinda-svāmi Pillai, who later in his monastic life called himself Nityānanda Svāmi, and poems by Gaṇapati Kavirāyar of Tirugókarnam, Kadirāivél Kavirāyar, and Kavirāyars of Mithilaippaṭṭi and Kāraicchuranpaṭṭi and the Śīrkāli Vēndars of Valnād* are among the popular works in Tamil of this period. There are also a number of poems extolling the valour of the Rājas and their Sardars.

* This is the designation of the *gurus* of the Valnād Chettiyār community. The late guru, Svāminātha Désigar was a scholar and poet, and the present one Śivaprakāśa Désigar worthily maintains the tradition.

The legends of the temples at Tirugókarnam, Kuḍumiyà-malai, Péraiyyūr, Tiruvaraṅgulaṁ, etc. were written in the form of Purāṇas in Sanskrit under the patronage of the Toṇḍaimāns, and some of them are read even now in the palace during the Dassara worship.

The grandsons of the poet Veṅkaṇṇa, and after them Śrī Krishṇamāchāriyār*, a former Dānādhikāri of the State and his nephew Gopālāchāriyār*, Rādhākṛishṇa Śāstriyār, Mallāḍi Subbarāya Śāstriyār, Gopāla Śāstriyār, Veṅkatarāma Jōsaiyār of Panayappaṭṭi, and Bālakṛishṇa Śāstriyār were eminent Sanskrit scholars and writers who adorned the court of Pudukkóttai in the latter half of the century.

Śrī Sadāśiva's devotional songs gave an impetus to the development of music in the State. Śrī Tyāgarāja Svāmi who ranks among the masters of South Indian music is believed to have visited the State early in this century†. Vijaya Raghunātha Rāya Toṇḍaimān was himself a renowned composer, and his five songs rightly deserve the name *pancaratnam* or 'five gems.' The first words of these songs are as follows:—*Ēlai paṅḍāli*. (Thou, that art on the side of the poor), *Karunaikkadaikkan*, (Glance of pity), *Piravi illāta aruḷ* (Vouchsafe Thy grace that I may not be born again), *Manattuyar tirttaruḷ* (Deign to remove my cares), *Taruṇamitammā* (This, O Mother is the moment for Thee to extend to me Thy grace). These songs addressed to the Goddess Brhadambā of Tirugókarnam which are the outpouring of a suppliant for divine grace so moved Rāja

* Uncle and brother respectively of Rao Bahadur R. Krishnamachariar, the present Assistant Administrator.

† Tradition speaks of a strange phenomenon that is alleged to have happened during Śrī Tyāgarāja's visit to Pudukkóttai. The Rāja proposed a strange test to the musicians assembled in his court. He placed an unlit lamp amidst them and challenged them to light it with their songs and without using a match. Encouraged by his guru, who was also present, Tyāgarāja sang the *rāga*, *Jyōtiśvaruṇī*. To the wonder of the assembly, the wick, it is said, caught fire and shone with varying brilliance according to the gradations of the *rāga*.

Rāmachandra Tonḍaimān that he had them sung in the temple regularly every day. The *Kapilaināṭakam* composed in this period is staged even now by dancing girls in the Tirugókarnam temple, and so is the *Virālimalai Kuravañji* at Virālimalai. Other famous songs sung to this day at Tirugókarnam are the one beginning with the words *Pāhimām* (Protect me) composed in the reign of Rāja Vijaya Rāghunātha and the *Kummi* by Chidambara Bhārati of Maḷavarāyanēndal.

Some stray verses are now extant of the songs to Dakṣiṇāmūrti, and Śrī Subrahmaṇya of Virālimalai, some of which were composed by Rāja Vijaya Rāghunātha Rāya. Among the war-songs, those of Śarkarai Kavirāyar of Pérāmbur are very spirited. Vaidyakavīśvarar composed many fine songs, the most popular of which is the benedictory song *Kurumayi karuṇām* (Make me the recipient of Thy Grace). Śrī Veṅkatésvara Aiyar* of Batlaguṇḍu who settled in the capital composed in praise of the Dēvī a number of *Bhajana Kīrtanas*† full of sweetness and melody. Rāmu Sāstriār of Sandaipēṭṭai, Subbarāya Bhāgavatar, Nāgaratna Bhāgavatar, and Rādhākriṣṇa Bhāgavatar and Vaithi Bhāgavatar of Tirugókarnam were other composers of more than local fame. Rāja Rāmachandra Tonḍaimān was a patron of one of the most renowned musicians and composers of the century, Mahāvaidyanātha Aiyar.

Among celebrated players on the *viṇa* were Kriṣṇayya, Subbukūṭṭi Ayya, Subbarāma Aiyar and Sambasiva Aiyar; the last two were known as 'Viṇa Brothers' and were honoured by the present Maharaja of Mysore among others. Nārāyaṇasvāmi Aiyar was a famous violivist, and so was his son Gaṇapati Aiyar of Pudukkóṭṭai who later became a palace musician at Mysore. Two Mussalman musicians Nannu Meah and Chotu Meah were expert players on the *dólak*‡ and

* Father of the late Mr. B. V. Kāmésvara Aiyar.

† Devotional songs accompanied by orchestral music.

‡ *Dólak* is a small drum common in Northern India.

the *svaragat*.* Another expert player on the *svaragat* was Krishṇan, a Telugu Non-Brahmin. Vīrāsvāmi Nāyak was a reputed player on the *Sārandā*.† The names of Māmunḍiya Pillai and Dakṣhiṇāmūrti Pillai of Pudukkóṭṭai, adepts in playing on the *Kaṇḍira*‡ and the *Mṛdaṅgam*, stand foremost to-day in the world of Carnātic Music.

* *Svaragat* is a stringed instrument played with a plectrum of ivory.

† *Sārandā* is a kind of lute.

‡ *Kaṇḍira* is a small tambourine with bells.

SECTION VIII—TONDAIMÁNS (continued).

MODERN PUDUKKÓTTAI.

*MÁRTÁNDA BHAIRAVA TONDAIMÁN. (1886—1928).**Contemporary Rulers.—**Governors of Madras.—**Sir M. E. Grant Duff. (1881—1886).**Lord Connemara. (1886—1891).**Lord Wenlock. (1891—1896).**Sir Arthur Havelock. (1896—1900).**Lord Ampthill. (1900—1906).**Sir Arthur Lawley. (1906—1911).**Sir Thomas David Gibson Carmichael. (1911—1912).**Lord Pentland. (1912—1919).**Lord Willingdon. (1919—1924).**(The State was brought under the direct control of the Government of India on October 1, 1923).**Viceroy of India.—**Earl of Reading. (1921—1926).**Baron Irwin (now Viscount Halifax). (1926—1931).*

Education of His Highness the Raja.—On May 2, 1886, the religious installation or *Pattábhisekam* of the young Ràja took place, according to the custom of the family, in the State temple at Tirugókarnam; and on 8th July, the Ràja was formally installed by the Political Agent, who presented a *khillat* from the Government of Madras and a letter from the Governor congratulating His Highness on his accession to the *musnad*.

The Ràja was about eleven years of age at this time, and had already made considerable progress in English, Tamil, Sanskrit and Drawing. Early in 1887, Mr. F. F. Crossley, a graduate of Cambridge University, was appointed English tutor, with a staff of assistants. Mr. Crossley was in charge of the Ràja's education for eight years.

On 5th December, 1886, Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy, visited Trichinopoly where His Highness the Ràja had a private interview with him.

In 1887, Lord Connemara, the Governor of Madras, visited Trichinopoly, and, on that occasion, invited His Highness in person to pay a visit to Madras. Accompanied by the Dewan-Regent, and a retinue consisting of his personal staff, tutors and servants, he went to Madras in January 1889, and stayed there for two months. He visited various institutions and places of interest, made the acquaintance of the then Mahàrāja of Mysore, the Members of the Madras Council, the Chief Justice and other leading personages, and attended a Convocation of the University. On his way back His Highness stopped at Pondicherry and paid a visit to the Governor who returned the Ràja's visit. He also attended a party given in his honour at the Government House at Pondicherry.

The Ràja had the honour of a private interview with His Royal Highness Prince Albert Victor during his tour in India in 1889.

In January, 1890, His Highness paid a second visit to Madras, which lasted for a month and a half. His Highness made the acquaintance of the Mahàrāja of Travancore, who was then halting at Madras on his way to Calcutta. On his way back His Highness visited Bangalore and Mysore.

From the beginning of 1891, the Ràja made Trichinopoly his home. To keep in touch with his subjects, the Ràja visited Pudukkóttai for all important feasts, festivals and religious ceremonies. In November, 1892, Lord Wenlock, Governor of Madras, paid a visit to Pudukkóttai, and the Ràja went to Madras immediately afterwards and returned the Governor's visit, and also had the opportunity of an interview with the Viceroy, the Marquis of Lansdowne, who was then on a visit to that city. In 1893, the Ràja visited Travancore twice and shot two elephants.

In December, 1893, when his education was nearly complete, His Highness toured Northern India. He visited Bombay, Allahabad, Benares, Calcutta, Agra, Ahmedabad and Baroda. He travelled *incognito* for most of the tour, the public receptions being confined to Bombay and Calcutta, where he was received officially by Lord Harris and Lord Lansdowne.

His tutor Mr. Crossley thus wrote of the Ràja in his last report.—

“ I cannot refrain from expressing in this, I believe, my last report, the pleasure I have in being able to say honestly that I cannot in the past seven years recall to mind one single instance of deviation from the strict truth or misbehaviour of any description on the part of His Highness. It is a record to be proud of and, I trust also, of happy augury for an honourable and useful career ”.

Sashia Sastri—Regent.

During the minority of the Ràja, the State was administered by Mr. (afterwards Sir) A. Sashia Sastri. He was invested with the powers of a Regent and was styled Dewan-Regent.

During the eight years preceding the Regency, the foundations of good government had been well and deeply laid. The Land Revenue system had been remodelled; the *amāni* tenure, which was prejudicial alike to the State and to the ryot, had been abolished. Most of the irrigation tanks had been repaired. The main trunk roads to Trichinopoly, Tanjore, and Madura had been put in order. The public services had been reformed and their tone raised. Crime had been put down. A second-grade College had been established, and public offices were being filled with young men educated on modern lines.

The eight years of the Regency mark a period of comparative rest and assimilation. The salient administrative features of this period are noticed below.

The Salt convention.—So early as 1817, the British Government had been complaining that the Pudukkóttai cheap earth-salt was being smuggled across the boundary. In 1881–2 the question threatened to become a source of misunderstanding between the State and the British Salt department. On a strong representation made by the State, the Madras Government agreed to let matters stand as they were. A little later, however, the question was reopened, and the Madras Government insisted on the suppression of earth-salt manufacture in the State. The Ràja, though at first unwilling, ultimately agreed to the opening of negotiations, as a result of which it was agreed that the manufacture of earth-salt should be suppressed in the State which should receive in compensation an annual payment of Rs. 38,000. The Madras Government acquiesced in these proposals and also intimated on July 12, 1887, that the arrangements might be cancelled at their option after sufficient notice, if they found it to their interest to do so.

The Inàm Settlement.—The total acreage under Inàm amounting to more than 3,00,000 acres greatly exceeded the acreage paying revenue to the State. Most of the inàms were originally granted for military service and were continued to the descendants of the original donees who were employed in guarding palaces, temples, cutcheris and forts, or more recently to watch the crops under the *amáni* system. These military tenures—generally known as *amarams*—had long become out of date, and the services connected with them had become more or less nominal. The tenures were mostly rent-free and were theoretically liable to absolute resumption at any time at the pleasure of the Ruler. They were also inalienable.

There were other Inàms granted for services connected with the State temples, for the support of minor temples, chatrams, úrapis or drinking water ponds, and other similar charitable and religious institutions. There were also Inàms granted to Miràs-dàrs or village head-men and to carpenters, blacksmiths, barbers,

washermen, and other artisans for village service. There were also the *Brahmadéyam* lands or lands granted to Brahmins.

The services connected with many of the Inàms had become unnecessary, or were neglected; other Inàms had been fraudulently or irregularly acquired by the holder.

The Madras Government had suggested the desirability of enfranchising the antiquated service tenements on suitable quit-rent and bringing the other Inàms under some such settlement as was being effected by the Madras Inàm department. The rules, which were drafted much on the model of those of the Madras Inam department, came into force from September, 1888.

By 1894 almost all the militia tenures had been enfranchised, and thereby an additional revenue of about a lakh of rupees had been secured. The effect of the settlement cannot be better described than in the words of Sir Sashia who carried it out.

“Their enfranchisement on the payment of a moderate quit-rent in commutation of service was a *magna charta*. Lands which were worth nothing came to be valued hundreds and thousands of Rupees. Several who were hopelessly involved in debt suddenly found themselves rich and solvent. Those who had opposed it at first found themselves mistaken and hailed the enfranchisement of the tenures as their deliverance”.

Inàms relating to religious and charitable institutions or the performance of necessary village or temple services were registered on their existing tenures. All other Inàm lands were brought under full assessment.

Survey and Settlement.—The change from the *amáni* system had been dictated by urgency and had admitted of no delay, such as a regular survey and settlement required. In order to correct the inequalities in the assessment, due to the absence both of a correct measurement of area and of a correct classification of soils, a Revenue Survey and Settlement was begun in 1893.

Some permanent remissions.—After the change from *amáni* and introduction of money assessment, there were complaints that the general incidence of the assessment was heavy, and measures of alleviation were found necessary. The year 1892 was exceptionally disastrous, and as it had been preceded by two successive bad years, the resources of the ryots were so crippled that they were ill-prepared to stand another year of drought. This offered a favourable opportunity for granting certain permanent reductions of the revenue demand. The special assessment on garden crops was abolished and replaced by the ordinary rates. All rates higher than Rs. 60 a *velli* were reduced to Rs. 60, and proportionate reductions were made on lands assessed at less than Rs. 60, a *velli*. The tax on trees standing on patta lands was also abolished. The total remission of revenue on these accounts amounted to over half a lakh of Rupees.

Other measures.—A distillery was constructed at the capital. In 1893, the tree-tax system was introduced. In 1894, a Regulation was passed for the amalgamation of the State Postal department with the British Postal department.

Town improvement.—The town was greatly improved. Though it had been originally well laid out, the streets and lanes had been largely encroached upon, and the side drains had almost become bogs. The weekly market was held along the public thoroughfare and obstructed all traffic. The Cheri with filthy narrow lanes was a hot-bed of diseases—cholera, and smallpox. Offices were held in rented private houses. The College building was small and had no play-grounds. In the Hospital the wards and operating theatre were inadequate. The jail was located in an unsuitable building situated in the heart of the town.

Houses which obstructed the roads were removed, lanes were broadened, new roads were opened, new suburbs were formed, and the market was removed to a spacious plain and became

a great centre of trade. The Cheri was laid out in regular streets. Imposing buildings were constructed in open situations for the College, the Hospital and the Public offices. A spacious tank in the town was improved and enlarged into a reservoir of drinking water which is now distributed by pipes throughout the town.

Reorganisation of the Judicial Machinery.—The Appeal Court, a court of judicature in which the Ruler and the head of the executive were ex-officio Judges and formed a standing majority against a single professional Judge, was felt to be an anachronism. A scheme for the reorganisation of the judiciary was drawn up by the Civil Judge. Based on this and on the constitution of analogous courts in other Indian States, a Chief Court consisting of three Judges was constituted in January, 1887. The two existing Munsiff's Courts were abolished some time later.

The Raja invested with full powers.—In November 1894, His Highness the Ràja was installed by His Excellency Lord Wenlock, the Governor of Madras, and invested with the powers of administration at a Darbàr held for the purpose. The Governor, who was received with the usual honours at the Darbàr, delivered an address to the Ràja, from which we quote the following:—

“It is with great pleasure that I find myself here to-day with the object of personally giving effect to the decision of the Government of India that Your Highness should, on attaining your 19th year, be entrusted with the administration of the State of PudukkottaiThe inheritance upon which you are this day entering was twenty years ago financially and in every other respect in a most dilapidated condition. The aspect of affairs is now very different; you will have made over to you a State not only unencumbered with debt, but possessing a balance of more than three lakhs, while there is every prospect of its

yielding an increasing revenue if it is administered with due care. On every side material improvements are visible. Every branch of the administration has been more or less reformed, the revenue has improved, the roads are excellent, and the capital is adorned with modern public buildings. All these are due to the untiring energy and devotion to his duties of Dewan-Regent, Mr. Sashia Sastri one of that talented body, the proficient of the High School.* Mr. Sashia Sastri became Dewan in 1878, and after serving your grandfather until his demise in 1886, has since then continued to work for the well-being of the State of Pudukkóttai with great ability and remarkable fidelity and honesty of purpose. The result of his labours has been so successful that what was at the time of his accession to office almost a wreck is at the present moment a prosperous possession.....Your forefathers assisted in the laying of the foundation of the British Empire in India by supporting our arms in the struggle for supremacy with the French, a very important episode of which was the siege of Trichinopoly in 1752, next by aiding them in making head against the famous invader Hyder Ali Khan, and lastly, when alien enemies had ceased to oppose us, by affording, after the cession of the Carnatic, material help in suppressing the outbreaks of rebellious usurpers in what now forms the Madura District. Those days of warfare and bloodshed are now, as far as Southern India is concerned, happily at an end, with no prospect of return, but you can still follow in more peaceful paths the example of your ancestors of more than a century ago and support the British rule by a wise and just government of the State, to the administration of which you this day succeed.....”.

The following extract from the Ràja's reply is worthy of quotation. “Appreciating the value of the good advice Your Excellency has given me, I recognise the solemn nature of the

* Now the Presidency College, Madras.

trust now conferred on me; and relying on the help and advice of the Political Agent and my Dewan, I shall use my whole endeavour in striving to assure to my people a just and progressive administration. Striving to rule without fear or favour I shall seek to be honourable and upright in all my actions, with the Almighty's help and guidance, in making the destinies of my people happy and prosperous".

The Governor then conducted the Ràja to the *musnad*, and declared him invested with the powers of administration. A salute of eleven guns was fired, and the Governor handed over to the Ràja the State Sword. Lord Wenlock held a levee on the same day, at which the Ràja presented to him the members of his family, the Dewan, the principal officers of the State, the Sardars and others.

Change of Ministry.—Mr. Sashia Sastri retired on the termination of the Regency in November, 1894, and Mr. R. Védántáchárlu, Assistant Dewan, was appointed Dewan. He continued in sole charge of the administration for about three years.

Mr. Védántáchárlu's reforms.—During this period, rules for the grant of agricultural loans were passed; a Sanskrit School was opened at the capital; Stationary Magistrates were appointed to relieve the Tahsildars of their magisterial work; an agricultural farm with a training class, a dairy farm and a technical school giving instruction in carpentry, tailoring and painting were opened. This administration was characterised by weakness and laxity of control over the finances, and many of these institutions had to be closed after brief periods of usefulness.

Brahmadéyam Inàms were taken up for Settlement. Inàms that continued in the line of the original grantees were not interfered with, but those that had been alienated were subjected to a slight quit-rent.

Amalgamation of the Dévastánam department with the Revenue department. Another noteworthy measure was the abolition in 1897 of the Dévastánam department as a separate branch of the Administration. The extensive lands attached to the important temples and chatrams of the State had hitherto been administered by a separate agency. The Dewan amalgamated these lands and villages with the *ayan* lands of the State, and made allotments out of the general receipts for the maintenance of temples and charities.

Constitution of the State Council.—Early in 1898, the Ràja made arrangements for a visit to Europe. For the satisfactory conduct of the administration during his absence he formed a Council of Administration consisting of a Dewan and a Councillor. To the post of Councillor, the Ràja appointed his brother Ràjkumàr Vijaya Raghunàtha Durai Ràja, then a Deputy Collector in the British Service. The post of Councillor, tentatively created for a year, was subsequently made permanent, and the constitution of the Council remained unchanged for ten years.

Visit to Europe.—In April, 1898, The Ràja left for Europe. He visited the principal towns of Italy and was greatly interested in the art treasures of Naples, Rome and Florence. On May 23, 1898, the Ràja was received by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward VII) at Marlborough House, and on 14th July, had the honour of being received in audience by Her Majesty Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle. His Highness also attended Her Majesty's levee at Buckingham Palace. The Ràja returned to his capital in November, 1898. It was proposed at a public meeting to erect a Town Hall in commemoration of the interview accorded to the Ràja by Queen Victoria, and the foundation stone of the building was laid by Sir Arthur Havelock, the Governor of Madras, who visited Pudukkóttai in February, 1899. This was the first of a series of visits that the Ràja paid to Europe.

A change in the Council.—Mr. Védàntàchàrlu retired in January, 1899. A British Deputy Collector—the late Dewan-Bahadur S. Venkataràmadàs Nàidu Gàru—was appointed Dewan, Ràjkumàr Vijaya Raghunàtha Durai Ràja continuing as Councillor. This arrangement continued almost uninterrupted till the beginning of 1909.

Finance.—The first problem that the new Council had to face was the restoration of the finances to a sound basis. A fund, known as the *amánat*, which had, till now, enabled the minister to incur expenditure irrespective of the Budget, was now closed. The Treasury was reorganised, the accounts were set in order, and a special Treasury Officer was appointed. The Agricultural and Dairy Farms which had been working at a loss, and the three Deputy Tahsils at the Firka stations were abolished. The Revenue Survey and Inàm Settlement were nearing completion, and the establishment in these departments was curtailed, and the expenditure minimised. A few additional sources of revenue were created. In 1900 toll-gates were established near the frontiers of the State. Stamped papers and stamps—judicial and non-judicial—were introduced in 1905.

In other respects also the administration of the State by the new Council during the decade 1899 to 1909 was marked by substantial progress in the several departments of the State. The salient features of the administration are noticed below.

Reforms of this Council.—About 1899, the Council took up the question of increasing the irrigation facilities of the State, and an experienced Engineer was specially appointed to investigate the subject. In 1903, a special staff was appointed for the restoration of tanks and investigation of new schemes of irrigation, and another, to repair the "Railway affecting" tanks in the State.

Agriculture also received considerable attention. In 1906, an Agricultural Association was started with the liberal support of the Darbar. Its work was to place up-to-date agricultural methods and implements at the command of the ryots. A Meteorological observatory was opened in 1905. In 1907, a Veterinary Hospital was established. Arrangements were made to grant loans for seeds and other agricultural purposes. In 1904 and for some years after, cattle shows were held in the Taluk stations to improve the breed of cattle, and in 1908 a big cattle-show and an agricultural exhibition were held in the capital. A Co-operative Credit Society Regulation was passed and came into force in 1908.

Revenue Settlement.—The lands that were held on a fixed money assessment before the *amáni* settlement had been assessed at low rates ranging from Rs. 18 a *véli* wet to Rs. 25. These rates were not revised at the *amáni* settlement. The new rates on other lands determined on a five years' average during the *amáni* settlement ranged from Rs. 30 to Rs. 60 in general. The obvious inequalities in the rates of the assessment that resulted gave rise to complaints. A regular survey and scientific settlement to remove these inequalities and bring the land revenue administration into line with the system obtaining in the adjoining British districts was started in 1894 and completed in 1903.

The first thing that had to be done before commencing Revenue settlement was to overhaul the revenue accounts of the State, correct the inaccuracies in the accounts, and bring the registry of holdings up-to-date. This preliminary work, which involved sub-division of survey fields on a large scale, was commenced in 1907, and actual settlement was started in 1908. The new settlement was conducted on the lines of recent settlements in the British districts. In two respects, however, the peculiarities of the old system were retained,—no seasonal remissions were granted for failure of crops, and double crops

were not assessed. Under the *amāni* settlement the ryots were not allowed to relinquish the lands for which they had once accepted a cowle. The new settlement allowed relinquishment.

Representative Assembly.—One of the most noteworthy measures was the attempt to associate the people with the administration of the State. In 1902, a Representative Assembly consisting of thirty members was constituted. The members were at first selected by the State Council from those nominated by the Heads of Departments and by the public associations in the State. It met once a year when the Darbar made a statement of the progress of the several departments of the State, and answered interpellations by the members. The members then discussed matters of general interest to which they desired to invite the attention of the Darbar. From 1907, three-fifths of the number of seats were thrown open to election.

Legislation, etc.—The attention of the Darbār had been drawn in 1882 to the desirability of consolidating the Pudukkóttai code. For a long time after this however, mere notifications were published in the State Gazette, as circumstances required, to give validity to any departure from the practice in the British territories or to any procedure or policy, the adoption of which was considered desirable or necessary for the State. It was brought to the notice of the Darbār that such notifications could not have the force of law; and at the suggestion of the Representative Assembly, a legislative committee was formed in 1904 to advise the Council of Administration in drafting regulations and report on the legislative needs of the State. A Law Reporter was appointed to compile reports of the important judgments of the Chief Court. In 1904 the system of trying sessions cases with the aid of assessors was introduced.

Elementary Education.—Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of this administration was the introduction and extension of primary education on modern lines. Primary schools were opened in all important villages, and the pay and

allowances of the teachers were raised so as to secure a better class of men. A Training School was opened to train the village teachers in up-to-date methods of teaching. New educational rules were framed, and the Inspection and Grant-in-aid codes were revised.

Health Measures.—The Women and Children's dispensary was opened in 1902, and a Board, called the Sanitary Board, consisting of a few official members was constituted in 1903 to attend to the sanitary needs of the capital.

Political.—A few events of political importance that occurred during the period are worthy of note.

In honour of the coronation of H. M. King Edward VII, Emperor of India, a Darbâr was held at the capital by His Highness the Râja on November 27, 1902, and there was general rejoicing in the town for three days. His Highness attended the Coronation Darbâr held at Delhi on the 1st of January, 1903. Arrears of revenue amounting to about Rs. 34,000 were written off in honour of the Coronation.

Râjaśrî Brihadambâl Râjâmañi Sâhib, senior daughter of His Highness the late Râja, and natural mother of the Râja, died on December 4, 1903.

Resumption of the Chinnaranmañai Jâgîr.—The Chinnaranmañai Jâgîrdâr, cousin of His Highness the Râja, died in May, 1903, and after his death, the Jâgîr was resumed by the State. Allowances were settled on his sons, wives and daughter. The villages belonging to the Jâgîr were surveyed, and the settlement of the Inâms under the Jâgîr was started in 1908.

The Second Administrative Council. (1909—1922). In March, 1909, Dewan Bahadûr S. Venkatarâmadâs Nâidû was granted three months' privilege leave, preparatory to his reversion to British service, and His Highness modified the constitution of the State Council. The new Council consisted

of three members,—a member of the Indian Civil Service as Superintendent of the State, a Dewan, and the Chief Judge as *ex-officio* Councillor. Mr. (now Sir) G. T. H. Bracken, I. C. S., was appointed Superintendent of the State, and Ràjkumàr Vijaya Raghunàtha Durai Ràja, Dewan.

Reforms of the Bracken—Durai Raja Administration.

Revenue Settlement.—The Revenue Settlement, begun in 1908, was completed by the end of 1912. After the resumption of the Chinnaraṇṇaṇai Jàgr in 1903, the only Jàgr that remained as a separate estate, managed by a special agency, was the *Manóvarti Jàgr* intended for the maintenance of the Ràní of the Ruling Chief. In 1911, this also was amalgamated for administrative purposes with the *ayan* villages of the State, and a fixed annual grant of Rs. 18,000 a year was allotted for the maintenance of the Ràní or Rànís of the Ruler in lieu of the varying net surplus contributed by the Jàgr. These villages also were brought under the operations of the Revenue settlement.

Irrigation and other improvements.—Special attention was devoted to the repair of the irrigation tanks. A minor irrigation system was introduced in 1909, whereby the smaller irrigation tanks and *éndals* were transferred to the Revenue department for maintenance.

A Museum was established in 1909, and a model agricultural farm was opened in the capital in 1911. The Sarasvati exhibition was developed into a general exhibition in 1911, and was held for some years.

In 1909, a Village Conservancy Regulation was passed providing for the constitution of village panchayats. Important villages were constituted 'Unions' under a Regulation passed in 1912. In the same year, another Regulation was passed, replacing the Sanitary Board of the town of Pudukkóttai by a Municipal Council,

In 1910, the Chief Court and Second Appeals Regulation was passed, consolidating the provisions of law relating to the Chief Court and providing for the appointment of two Appellate Judges to hear appeals from the Chief Court on points of law in civil cases, and to advise His Highness the Ràja in the decision of Second Appeals. The Second Appeal Court sat for the first time in May, 1911.

Political.—At the invitation of His Majesty's Government the Ràja attended the Coronation of Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary in Westminster Abbey on June 22, 1911. He returned to India in November, 1911, and attended the Imperial Darbàr at Delhi on December 12, 1911, where he paid his homage to the King-Emperor. The visit of Their Imperial Majesties to the Indian Empire was celebrated at Pudukkóttai with every expression of loyalty and enthusiasm. In honour of this event, the Ràja, on his return from Delhi, remitted for one year the village-service cess, amounting to Rs. 20,000, and permanently abolished the tax on weavers' looms. He also extended free elementary education to all parts of the State, and granted certain special allowances to the lower ranks of State servants and pensioners.

On January 1, 1913, His Majesty the King-Emperor made the Ràja a *Grand Commander of the order of the Indian Empire*.

In January and February, 1913, His Highness the Ràja paid an official visit to the Benares State, and another to Bikànr to attend an entertainment given by the Maharàja of Bikànr to Indian Chiefs on the occasion of his Silver Jubilee.

The Silver Jubilee.—In February, 1913, His Highness the Ràja's Silver Jubilee was celebrated at the capital in a manner befitting the occasion. The celebrations lasted three days—22nd, 23rd and 24th February. A Darbàr was held on the morning of the 22nd February in a pavilion in the Palace square. The President of the Celebration Committee read an address to His Highness on behalf of the people, to which His Highness made a suitable reply.

His Highness granted the following boons in honour of the occasion.

i. Remission of the village karnams' cess commonly known as the *Kanakku Vari* amounting to Rs. 25,000, for a period of three years.

ii. Remission of the house-tax commonly known as *Mohturpha* amounting to Rs. 5,000, for a period of three years.

iii. Remission permanently of the tax levied on bangle-makers and dhobies' earth.

iv. Association of elected representatives in a legislative advisory council to be newly constituted.

v. Grant of the privilege of electing two members of the Municipal Council.

vi. Opening of an Agricultural School in the Town, and the grant of two continuation agricultural scholarships at the College at Coimbatore.

vii. Special grant of an annual sum of Rs. 5,000 for three years for the construction of buildings for Elementary Schools in rural parts.

viii. Grant of special grain-compensation-allowances to permanent and temporary servants of the State drawing Rs. 10 and less for four additional months.

ix. Grant of special local allowances to servants of the State drawing Rs. 30 and less when employed in localities where prices were high.

x. Grant of Rs. 1,000 to the Town Hall Committee in the capital to enable it to finish the building.

xi. Grant of Rs. 10,000 for the formation of Silver Jubilee agricultural seed-banks.

There was a procession in the evening. The Ràja mounted on a richly caparisoned elephant, was taken through the four main streets of the Town and to Tirugókarnam and back. On the evening of the 23rd February, the people gave a garden party to His Highness, and at night a grand display of fire-works was held, and the main streets and all the public buildings were illuminated. On the evening of the 24th, a Carnatic Darbar was held in a pavilion in the Palace square. The functions came to a close with a State banquet to European guests on the evening of the 25th February.

The Great European War. (1914-19). The Ràja and his brother, the Dewan, were staying at Aix-les-Bains and had been there barely a fortnight, when the general mobilisation of the French army was ordered. With the help of the British embassy at Paris, travelling by car, they got to Dieppe in time to catch the last boat to England. They arrived in London the very night that England declared war. The next day, the Ràja placed his personal services and all that he possessed at the disposal of His Majesty the King-Emperor. Since His Majesty's Government found it difficult to utilise his personal services, the Ràja returned to the State in November 1914. On November 23, 1914, he presided over a public meeting held in the Town Hall in connection with the war and delivered a spirited address, extracts from which will amply bear reproduction :—

* * * *

"Let us not think that we here can do little. If we cannot help by personal service, we can help in several other ways. Here I may mention that I offered to raise a regiment in the State. My idea was that we could thereby look after our interests in Southern India and enable the British Government to utilise their regular regiments stationed there, for service in the front. H. E. the Viceroy, while highly appreciating my desire, has not found it possible to consider the proposal at present. But the military authorities would be grateful if we can help recruiting for existing units. We ought to be able to do this at least. We can also help to keep in comfort those who have gone to fight for our cause and relieve the distress of their wives and children,

" Let me remind you that there can be no nobler cause for the exercise of one's benevolent and loyal instincts. To my Nattukkottai Chetty subjects, in particular, who have established a name for charities, I should say that of all philanthropical purposes for which they have unstintingly given, none can come up to the mark of the present occasion. To add to the material comforts of those who have gone to win or die for their country, to relieve the sufferings of the wives and children they have left behind—can there be a nobler cause for giving? Seldom does such opportunity come in the history of a nation; and when it has come, shall it be said of us that we have not proved equal to it? I can understand that owing to the tightness of the money market, my Chetty subjects have been put to temporary inconvenience. This, I hope, will soon vanish and the normal condition of things will return.

" All of us can help, high or low, rich or poor—each according to his means and limits. If we cannot serve personally, we can give. All of us cannot give much; but all can give what they can and all will be welcome. Other considerations apart, would it not be better to give a part of what we have to secure the rest in peace, than keep our all, tight now, in fancied security, and lose it in the end? Make no mistake—this is what it will come to if England and her allies should not win.

" The war will tax all the resources of Britain and no one is so insignificant that he cannot do something. We, Indians, form one-sixth of the population of the globe and if every one of us should be imbued with the right spirit, our united help will, by no account, be small.

" Of all Indian States, Pudukkóttai stands in peculiar relation to the British Power. A hundred years ago, it was written of us in the English official despatches—' It is impossible for any servant of the Company not to feel the greatest regard and respect for the Tonḍaiman family. In prosperity or adversity, from the earliest period of our connection with them, they have never failed us; neither considerations of danger nor allurements of advantage have ever induced them to swerve from their allegiance, and their services, sometimes in very critical conjunctures, when we were struggling for Empire, have been eloquently recorded in the pages of history. More lately, during the last Poligar war, the Right Hon'ble the Governor is himself aware that the father of the present chief, in spite of all endeavours to intimidate him, at once espoused our cause and proved by his conduct that he inherited the same extraordinary attachment and fidelity to the Hon'ble Company, which were so signally manifested by his ancestors in the memorable and perilous days of Clive and Lawrence.' Such eloquent testimony to our services shall not be falsified now.

" You may remember what I said last year in my reply to the Jubilee Address. I then said ' You have spoken of the loyalty of the Tonḍaimans to the British Throne. That loyalty has been the pride of the Tonḍaimans and our most precious heirloom. History has eloquently recorded our services to the British. What pleases me most is that you are now, in no way, less willing than your forefathers to place yourselves and all you possess at my disposal for serving HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE KING, our EMPEROR. It is easy to talk of loyalty, sacrifice or brave deeds, so long as there is no necessity for their practical exercise. You can only know what the man is made of, when he is put in a tight corner '.

" When I spoke these words, I little thought that the time would so soon come for practically showing what we are. The time has now come and let us show that we have inherited the spirit of sacrifice that marked our forefathers.

" In conclusion, let us pray for the speedy termination of the war and the complete success of the British and their allies. I order that special prayers for this purpose shall be offered in all the temples, churches and mosques in the State, and, for this, to-morrow shall be a public holiday."

This speech created a deep impression on the minds of the people. A sum of Rs. 64,000 was subscribed by the subjects of the State and remitted to the Imperial Indian Relief Fund, and smaller sums were contributed to the support of the Madras Hospital ship and the Ladies' Depôt of the Madras War Fund.

Two lakhs of rupees were contributed from State Funds to the Madras War Fund, Rs. 15,000 to the Prince of Wales Relief Fund, Rs. 15,000 to the Imperial Indian Relief Fund, and Rs. 500 monthly to the Madras Hospital ship.

His Highness's marriage.—His Highness's marriage with Miss E. Molly Fink, daughter of Mr. Wolfe Fink, M. A., L. L. B. of Melbourne, took place on August 10, 1915, at Sydney in Australia.

His Highness and his consort arrived at the capital at 5.30 p. m., on November 22, 1915. They were received at Karupparkovil near the Municipal toll-gate on the Trichinopoly Road by the Reception Committee and the Municipal

Council and escorted to the reception tent. The Municipal Chairman read an address. His Highness thanked the Council for their loyal welcome which had touched him deeply, and then motored to the Palace.

That night His Highness and his consort were taken together in procession through the main streets of the Town. On the morning of November 24, 1915, they received an Address of congratulation from the public represented by the Reception Committee to which His Highness replied as follows:—

"MY SUBJECTS,

I thank you for the hearty and enthusiastic reception you have accorded to me on my return from my marriage. The right royal welcome you have extended to my wife would show, if fresh proof were indeed needed, with what loyalty and simple trust you are ready to accept my decision in all matters relating to myself or the State. The splendid ovations which I and my wife have received show that my confidence in my people was well-founded and that I have happily secured the unhesitating allegiance of all sections of my people, even in matters which might appear to run counter to conservative ideas.

"The question of my marriage had been engaging my serious attention for several years. Through my training and travels here and abroad, I had formed certain ideals as to the sort of helpmate that could secure for me both a happy home and an intelligent co-operation in the discharge of my responsibilities as a Ruler. After much looking-out and cogitation I found that it was impossible, in the present state of our society, to expect any approach to the standard I had formed and that it might be necessary to sacrifice a little of surface national sentiment if my expectations were to be realised. I say 'surface sentiment'; for as you well know there have not been wanting examples of persons who have entirely identified themselves with their adopted land. It has pleased God to vouchsafe to me at last a partner who is, in my opinion, qualified to fulfil my ideals and I hope that with God's blessings the future of the State will, under our joint guidance, be even more prosperous and happy than ever before.

"On behalf of my wife I thank you for the loyal welcome you have given her. For the rest, I shall be content to let my wife speak for herself in more substantial ways than by mere words.

"Once more I thank you for your kind welcome and warm expressions of loyalty and good wishes to myself and my wife.

" As a souvenir of the occasion I'am issuing the following orders :—

1. To remit permanently the Karnam's cess of *Kanakkuvári* throughout the State.
2. To grant one lakh of rupees as provision for a satisfactory drainage in the Town, to be spent as funds become available.
3. To extend the franchise in the Representative Assembly—twenty-five members to be elected in future instead of nineteen as at present.
4. To throw open to election one seat in every Union Panchayat.
5. To construct a Lying-in Ward and a Labour-room in the Women and Children's Hospital to be shortly opened.
6. To open four seats to election on the Town Municipal Council instead of two as at present.
7. To make a special grant of Rs. 5,000 for extension of education to girls.
8. For the improvement of sanitation in the villages, where lately there has been so much ravage by epidemics, to make a special grant of Rs. 10,000."

The ladies of the Town assembled at the Town Sirkar Girls' School and presented His Highness' consort with an address in which they conveyed to her their warmest and most heartfelt felicitations and wished her joy in her wedded life. She thanked them for their kind welcome and said:—" Though I have been here barely a fortnight, by the most kind receptions accorded and nice feelings shown me by all my husband's subjects, I not only feel quite at home here, I feel as if I had been here all my life."

The Rāja and his consort stayed in India till the middle of April 1916 when they left for Australia.

On July 22, 1916, His Highness' consort gave birth to a son at Sydney in Australia. The child was named *Mārtāṇḍa Sydney Tonḍaimān*.

Changes in the personnel of the second Administrative Council. (1913-22)—In February 1913, Mr. Bracken went home on furlough. Mr. J. T. Gwynn, I. C. S., succeeded him as Superintendent of the State and was in office till October 12, 1915. He was on leave from August 20, 1915 to September 19, 1915 when Mr. G. W. Priestley, I. C. S., acted for him. Mr. (now Sir) Sidney Burn, I. C. S., the next Superintendent, held office till October 23, 1922 when the council was abolished. During the period of absence of Mr. Burn on leave (May 12, 1919 to February 11, 1920) Mr. Thomas Austin, I. C. S., acted as Superintendent.

Ràjkumàr Vijaya Rag'hunàtha Dorai Ràja continued as Dewan till October 23, 1922, except for a short break in 1914, when, during his absence in England, Mr. C. Ràjagópàla Pillai acted for him.

Mr. C. Ràjagópàla Pillai, Chief Judge and ex-officio Councillor, took leave from July 10, 1915 and died in September 1915. He was succeeded by Mr. G. Gaṇapati Śàstriàr.

The conclusion of the war.—The conclusion of the Armistice between the Allies and Germany was celebrated on November 13, 1918. A public Darbar was held in the Palace square, and the portraits of Their Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress were mounted on a caparisoned elephant with a gold howdah and taken in a grand procession with all paraphernalia round the four main streets of the Town. Special thanksgiving services were held in all State temples, mosques and churches in commemoration of the happy event.*

Some Palace affairs during this period.—Ràjkumàr Ràjagópàla Tonḍaimàṇ Saheb, first son of the late Western Palace Jàgírdàr and grandfather of His Highness the present

* An armistice parade is held on November 11, every year, followed by cessation of all work and observance of silence for two minutes after 11 o' clock.

Rāja died on April 4, 1917. Ry. Maturāmbāl Āyi, wife of Rāj Kumār Rāmachandra Tonḍaimān Saheb of the Western Palace died on February 17, 1920.

Rāj Kumār Rāmachandra Tonḍaimān married M. R. Ry. Jānaki Āyi Avergal, the mother of His Highness the present Rāja, on September 5, 1920. She gave birth to a son, the present Ruler, on June 23, 1922.

Important Reforms during this period.—In fulfilment of the promise made by the Rāja on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee, a Legislative Advisory Council was constituted in Fasli 1324 (1914–15). It consisted of the members of the State Council, the State Vakil, two members elected by the members of the Representative Assembly and two members nominated by the Rāja. The number elected by the members of the Representative Assembly was raised to four in Fasli 1329. The Council, as its name indicates, was a purely advisory body. It was given the privilege (Fasli 1330) of discussing the budget and bringing in bills for consideration. The Representative Assembly continued to meet twice a year.

Revenue, etc.—In Fasli 1329 (1919–20), the Darbar framed rules on the Madras model for the maintenance of Land Records. The Survey School opened in Fasli 1325 (1915–16) trained Revenue subordinates and Karnams in chain-survey.

All the Chinnaraṇmaṇai Inām lands were brought within the scope of the Revenue Settlement. Since the records relating to them were neither intelligible nor reliable, and much difficulty was felt in collecting the quit-rents, a survey of these lands was undertaken. By Fasli 1324, the settlement of the minor ināms had been completed and that of the major ināms almost completed. The Darbar ordered a careful examination of the conditions of the *lāvaṇams* (service ināms).

The survey and settlement of *nattams* or Chetṭiyar villages progressed steadily.

Agriculture.—An Agricultural School was opened in the Town in Fasli 1328 (1918–19) for the benefit of the children of the ryots. The Mārtāṇḍa Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition was held in the capital annually up to 1920. The agricultural staff was increased, and in 1917–18, there were four Instructors, one for each taluk, and the fourth in charge of the Town Farm.

In Fasli 1325 (1915–16), a full-time Inspector of Co-operative societies was appointed. In 1920 the Central Co-operative Bank in the Town was established.

Education.—As a preliminary step to the reorganisation of the educational system, the Darbar increased the scale of pay of Elementary School teachers and the scale of grants to aided schools. The Rāni's School for girls in the Town was raised to the status of a Lower Secondary School. Mr. S. T. Nāgappa Chetṭiyār opened in Fasli 1327, a free High School at Rāma-chandrapuram, and the late Dewan Bahadur T. N. Muthiah Chetṭiyār, a free Lower Secondary School at Tirumayam in 1924. These two institutions mark a new and welcome turn which the philanthropy of the Nagarattārs has now taken. In 1921, the Rāja's College opened the Science Section which was equipped with suitable laboratories. As an experimental measure, the Vēda Śāstra Pāṭasālā was raised to the status of a College to train pupils for the Śiromaṇi Title Examination of the Madras University; but as only one native of the State joined the course, the experiment was given up. The Training School for masters was reorganised so as to include courses in Hygiene, Veterinary Science and practical Agriculture. In 1919–20, the department introduced a system of travelling libraries. Boxes of books were sent out to villages to be issued to literate villagers. In 1916, the 'Children's Guild' was organised with the object of encouraging the children to take an interest in some hobby and to try to do 'good turns' to society. An annual celebration was held on the birthday of His Highness the Rāja,

when competitions and sports were conducted, an exhibition was held and 'Good turns' done by children were rewarded.

Local Self-Government.—Soon after the Silver Jubilee two seats in the Town Municipal Council were thrown open for election; three in 1916-17 and four in 1917-18. His Highness sanctioned in 1913 a lakh of rupees for the construction of regular drains in the Town; and the Darbar ordered a scheme of drainage to be drawn up. The installation of a Jewell-filter in the Town water-works was completed in 1915-16.

Public Health.—The dispensary for women and children in the Town was converted in 1920 into a hospital, named the Ràni's Hospital, and was provided with in-patients and lying-in wards.

Justice—Law and Order.—The pecuniary jurisdiction of the Registrar of the Chief Court was raised from Rs. 30 to 50 in 1919, and in 1920, that of the Chief Court in its small-cause jurisdiction from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200. A Bench Court was constituted for the Town in 1912-14. The system of sending life-convicts to British Penal settlements was discontinued from 1921.

General condition of the people.—The great war of 1914-18 was responsible for high prices. In 1916 and 1918, the North-east monsoon failed. "The year (1918-19) was one of the very bad ones through which the State has had to pass. War, influenza, failure of the season, decrease in the stock of food grains and heavy rise in the price of all articles, all these causes cumulatively operated and made the situation bad.... The people of the State of all castes and creeds and of all strata of society were thoroughly loyal and law-abiding, bore the distress with fortitude and soon adjusted themselves to the altered condition. There was not even a single instance of looting or other excesses committed by them". In 1919 and

* *Administration Report for Fasli 1328.* p. 29.

in November 1920 and January 1921 occurred some of the heaviest rainfall within living memory. A number of bridges and causeways were washed away. In view of the general condition the Darbar found it necessary to raise the salaries of the officers of all grades in all departments. In spite of the heavy calls on the treasury, the surplus at the beginning of fasli 1311 amounted to about 40 lakhs.

The Regency Administration 1922-28.—His Highness the Ràja decided in 1922 to reside permanently out of India, and vested the administration of the State in a Regent, who exercised all the powers of the Ràja. The Regent was assisted by a Dewan who was directly responsible for the executive administration of the several departments. Ràjkumàr Vijaya Raghunàtha Dorai Ràja, a natural brother of the Ràja, was appointed Regent. Rao Bahadúr P. K. Kunhunni Menon was Dewan throughout the period of the Regency except for the period between 25—10—1926 and 15—12—1926, when he was on leave and Mr. G. Gaṇapati Śāstriar, the Chief Judge, acted as Dewan.

With the concurrence and under the orders of the Supreme Government, 20 lakhs from the State Surplus Fund and 1·60 lakhs hitherto kept separate from the State balance as the 'Marriage fund' of His Highness, were given to the Ràja, and the allowance of Rs. 2,500 *per mensem* paid to his family was discontinued.

His long association with the administration of the State, first as Councillor and then as Dewan, gave the Regent an advantage which very few administrators of the State have possessed.

State brought under direct relationship with the Government of India.—The State which was under the political control of the Government of Madras till October 1, 1923, was with effect from that date brought into direct political relations with the Government of India through an Agent to the Governor-General with Headquarters at Trivandrum. The Collector of Trichinopoly who was also Political Agent for

Pudukkóttai became Assistant Agent. The office of the Assistant Agent at Trichinopoly was, however, abolished with effect from October 1, 1926.

Political.—In January 1923, the Regent paid a formal visit to His Excellency the Governor of Madras. He again visited Madras in December 1923 and had an interview with the Viceroy who was then on a visit to South India. His Excellency, the Right Honourable Viscount Goschen, G. C. I. E., G. B. E., Governor of Madras, stopped for an hour at the capital of the State on his way to Kàñḍukàttàn in February 1925. During this short stay, His Excellency did the Regent the honour of breakfasting with him.

In the last week of December 1926, the Regent paid a visit to His Highness the Mahàrāja of Cochin at his capital, and stayed at Ernakulam and Trichur as the guest of the Cochin Government.

In March 1927, he made a trip to Delhi, and had the honour of an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy.

Events in the Palace.—Ràjkumàr Dakshinàmúrti Dorai Ràja, a natural brother of the Ràja, died on September 3, 1924 at Brighton.

A son was born to Ràjkumàr Ràmachandra Toṇḍaimàn Saheb of the Western Palace on June 3, 1925.

On January 13, 1927, Ràjkumàr Ràmachandra Toṇḍaimàn Saheb of the Western Palace, father of His Highness the present Ràja, died at Pudukkóttai.

The Legislative Council inaugurated.—On September 29, 1924, the Regent inaugurated the Pudukkóttai Legislative Council. Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, C. I. E., I. C. S., Agent to the Governor-General, Madras States, was present at the ceremony. In the course of his address the Regent said :—

"This installation of the Legislative Council marks a definite and important stage in the process of associating the people in the administration of the State, which began only twenty-two years ago.

"It was, however, inevitable that, with the rapid spread of education and improvement in the political outlook of the people, these institutions (the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Advisory Council) should become antiquated, out of date and unsuited to the changed conditions. From about the year 1920, if any specific time can be assigned to it, there were indications of opinions entertained here and there that the two institutions should be amalgamated into one, that the recruitment of the people's representatives to the new Council should be by means of election based upon a liberal franchise granted to the people, and that the reformed Council should be invested with larger powers. The opinions invited by the Government from the public regarding the best way of reforming the two institutions were also generally in favour of constituting a single Council containing a large elective element in the place of the two institutions. In conformity with the wishes of the people, I have passed the Pudukkottai Legislative Council Regulation and framed the rules thereunder, as they are now published; and I believe they will meet the present-day requirements of the State.

"I am assured that the reforms granted do not fall short of what have been given in other States. I shall, however, be very glad to give still wider powers to this Council when the time is ripe for a further step being taken forwards. It should be our common aim to hasten the advent of that time."

The Council consists of fifty members of whom thirty-five are elected and fifteen nominated by Government. The nominated members include the Heads of Departments, and since 1930 have included a lady and an Adi-dravida. The Dewan was the ex-officio President of the Council up to 1929. A retired official held the office of Deputy President for about nine years. For a fuller account of the Council the reader is referred to pages 405-409 of the first volume.

Revenue, etc.—In fasli 1335, the Darbar published in the State Gazette a list of 30,000 acres of land fit for assignment for cultivation. To encourage the reclamation of waste lands, they granted agricultural loans at low rates of interest payable in easy instalments and also loans for digging wells at 4 per cent interest and repayable in instalments ranging up to 20 years. A few compact and fairly large blocks of land in Alañguḍi Taluk were planted with cashew trees. The Darbar withdrew

the rule requiring the payment of a lump sum (*kuḍisvāmiam*) for waste lands assigned for cultivation, and either assigned such lands free or sold them by auction.

The appointment of a Land Records Deputy Tahsildar in fasli 1335 helped to bring the field measurement books up-to-date. A special Tahsildar was in charge of Nattam settlement during faslis 1337 and 1338.

The Darbar felt that it would be more useful to hold the Mārtāṇḍa Exhibition at the time of a popular rural religious festival, and hence from 1926 till 1933, it was held at Nārttāmalai during the annual festival.

In 1922-23, the Darbar appointed a committee of officials and non-officials with Mr. (now Rao Bahadur) R. Krishnama-chariar as President to examine the question of Padittarams, Uḷlams, lāvaṇams, etc., in temples and chatrams and devise ways for their better supervision and management. The Committee submitted their report in 1925*.

The Co-operative movement took firm root in the State. Weavers' societies, Building societies, Credit societies and local supervising unions multiplied. Co-operative conferences were held in 1926 and 1929, and were presided over by high officials of the Madras Co-operative Department.

Education.—The Elementary Education Regulation was promulgated on December 1, 1925 making it compulsory for all children between the ages 7 and 11 to attend a school. It was first introduced in the Taluk Headquarters, and at Púvaraśakuḍi and is being gradually extended.

In 1928 Engineering courses were opened in the Rāja's College, and a workshop was constructed. The Vegetarian Hostel opened in 1923 and the non-vegetarian section opened in 1928 supplied a long-felt want. In 1924, the Adi-Dravida school in the capital was raised to the status of a Lower

* See Vol. I. pp. 463-7.

Secondary School. The Reclamation school*, a residential school for boys of the Korava community, was first opened at Tirumayam in fasli 1335, and five years later removed to the Town. In fasli 1334, the Darbar sanctioned a scheme for the elementary education of adults† in a one year course which was in force till fasli 1342. The opening of four women's libraries was another step in the direction of spreading mass education. In 1923, the Pudukkóttai Boys Scouts Association was formally inaugurated and affiliated to the Boys Scout Association in India.

The Regent called for proposals from Heads of Departments for the institution of a Home to afford relief to orphans, the helpless and the infirm. The Dewan held a public meeting in March 1925 to consider the proposals received from them. A lakh of rupees was collected, and in 1928 Mr. Cotton, Agent to the Governor-General, opened the Poor Home in a State Bungalow situated to the south of the Town.‡

Local Self-Government.—In 1924, the number of Councillors in the Town Municipality was raised from eight to twelve, of whom four were nominated and eight elected. The Darbar accepted the drainage scheme drawn by Mr. W. Hutton, Sanitary Engineer to the Government of Madras. Intercepting and gravitation sewers were constructed and conservancy lanes with drains were opened in the eastern part of the Town at a cost of Rs. 1,88,000. Four Village Panchayats were constituted in 1925-26.

A Development officer was appointed to control the departments of Agriculture, Co-operation and Panchayats and Rural improvement in general, and he functioned till May 1931, when the office was abolished.

Justice, Law and Order.—In 1926, the number of Judges in the Chief Court was raised from three to five so that the

* See Vol. I. pp. 287.

† See pp. 473-4 Vol. I.

‡ See Vol. I. p. 289.

Appellate Bench consisting of the Chief Judge and one of the Puisne Judges might be distinct and independent. A Bench Court was formed for Tirumayam (1924-25). In 1925 a new post, that of the Additional Chief Magistrate, was created, and this has largely relieved the Dewan Peishkar of his magisterial duties. The Village Panchayats Courts Regulation was passed in 1926, and the first court was opened in the Town.

Between 1924 and 1926, a number of unimportant Police out-posts were abolished, while new stations and beats were opened in places where crimes were frequent. With effect from January 1, 1928, the head of the State Police was made an independent officer with the designation of Commissioner of Police-cum-Commandant.

General condition.—The years 1924 to 1930 were one continuous period of drought. The Darbar did their best to ease the situation by granting loans to ryots to enable them to sink wells, and buy cattle and seed, and by postponing the collection of kist. In 1927, the Regent granted remission of land revenue to the extent of a lakh of rupees, and in 1928 remitted more than two lakhs. Relief works increased the expenditure under Irrigation and Public works. The grant of about Rs. 22 lakhs to the Ràja heavily depleted the State balance. The Regent appointed a mixed committee of officials and non-officials with the late Mr. B. V. Kamesvara Aiyar as President to suggest ways and means of curtailing expenditure. The period was one of steady retrenchment without impairing the necessary services.

Death of the Raja.—His Highness Śrī Brihadambà Dàs Ràja Sir Màrtāṇḍa Bhairava Tonḍaimān Bahadūr, G. C. I. E., passed away at Paris on May 28, 1928. The news of his demise was received at Pudukkóttai the next day when fifty-two minute guns were fired and all flags were hoisted half-mast. All public offices and institutions in the State were closed, and all public business suspended for five days, and also on the last day of the

obsequies, Saturday, June 6, 1928, when people of all castes and creeds were fed at the capital and the Taluk Headquarters, and Brahmins were given *bhúri* or presents of money. Ràjkumàr Vijaya Raghunàtha Dorai Ràja, the Regent, continued in office pending the orders of the Government of India.

RÀJA RÀJAGÓPÀLA TONÐAIMÀN, (Accession 1928).

Contemporary Viceroys of India—(Crown Representatives).—

Baron Irwin (now Viscount Halifax). (1926—1929).

Viscount Goschen (for four months in 1929).

Baron Irwin. (1929—1931).

Marquis of Willingdon. (1931—1936).

Marquis of Linlithgow.

The Succession Question.—Ever since the birth of Màrtàṇḍa Sydney Tonḍaimàn, the question of succession to the Pudukkóṭṭai *gádi* had been agitating the public mind. There was opposition to the succession of Màrtàṇḍa Sydney both within the State and outside it. After the demise of the late Ràja, the claims of Ràjkumàr Bàlasubrahmanya Raghunàtha Ràmachandra Tonḍaimàn of the Chinnarayanmai were advocated by a section of the people in the State. The Government of India gave the question their anxious consideration, and, with the approval of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, proclaimed in November 1928 their choice of Ràjkumàr Ràjagópàla Tonḍaimàn of the Western Palace to succeed to the *gádi*. Accordingly on November 19, 1928, His Highness Sri Bṛhadambà Dàs Ràja Ràjagópàla Tonḍaimàn Bahadúr was installed as Ruler by the Agent to the Governor-General.

On the morning of 19th November, Lieut. Colonel Crosthwaite, C. B. E., Agent to the Governor-General, accompanied by his two assistants drove in State to the Darbar Hall in the Old Palace, and at 9.30 hours, installed His Highness the Ràja. The following Proclamation was then read in English by Nawàb Zàḍa Mir Saeed Alamkhan, Assistant to the Agent, and in Tamil by the Chief Secretary to the Government of Pudukkóṭṭai.

"Whereas His Highness Śrī Bṛihadambà Dàs Ràja Màrtàṇḍa Bhairava Tonḍaimàn Bahadúr, Knight Grand Commander of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire, Ràja of Pudukkóttai departed this life on 28th May 1928 ;

"And Whereas His Highness Śrī Bṛihadambà Dàs Ràja Ràjagópala Tonḍaimàn Bahadúr has been selected by the Government of India with the approval of the Secretary of State to succeed to the Musnad ;

"His Highness is hereby proclaimed Ràja of Pudukkóttai.

"Given under my hand and seal at Pudukkóttai, this the 19th day of November in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty Eight.

"By Order of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council.

"(Sd.) C. G. Crosthwaite, C. B. E.,

"Lieut. Colonel,

"Agent to the Governor-General,

"Madras States."

The *paṭṭabhiṣékham* or religious ceremony connected with the installation of the new Ràja was performed at 4.30 p. m. on the same day in the Tirugókarṇam temple. His Highness then drove in State to the Old Palace, where he held a Darbar at which the principal officers, the Sardars and Kurigars and the Palace Sadasyas paid him homage.

Education of the Raja—His Tours. The Ràja who is a minor was first placed under the care of Mr. P. R. Ràmachandra Rao, a retired State official, and then from May 1929, under that of a governess—Miss N. A. Thompson. He had then learnt only the Tamil alphabet, but within a few months, was able to express himself fairly well in English, and read and reproduce easy stories in English and Tamil. He has always shown an aptitude for Arithmetic. From September 6, 1932, Captain G. T. B. Harvey took charge of the Ràja. He then began to learn Indian History ,

English History, Geography, Science and Hygiene. To widen his general knowledge he took to reading papers and periodicals and received instruction in current affairs. He has shown interest in and some talent for stage-acting. Pandits to teach him Sanskrit and Tamil, a munshi for Urdu, and a graduate trained in a course of Physical Instruction, were then appointed. He is now studying Advanced Mathematics and Science under Lecturers of the Ràja's College, and does practical work in the laboratories of the College.

In 1933, the Ràja and his family paid a visit to Madras where his contact with important people, and visits to the port, spinning-mills, battle-ships, and the aerodrome and several social functions did much to widen his outlook. In fasli 1345, he went on a pilgrimage to Tirupati, and visited Madras where he lunched with the Governor and witnessed the Australian Cricket Test Match. In fasli 1346, he visited Mysore and Bangalore. At Mysore he was the guest of His Highness the Mahàràja. A year later, the Ràja and his brother, Naḍu Durai, visited Cochin as the guests of His Highness the Mahàràja. The Resident for the Madras States accommodated the party at Bolghatty where they spent a very pleasant week.

Towards the end of January 1940, His Highness, accompanied by his Tutor and Aide-de-camp, went on a seven weeks tour through parts of Northern India. He halted at Madras, Calcutta, Benares, Delhi, Alwar, Agra, Bharatpur, Jodhpur, Udaipur, and Bombay, and visited many places of historical, industrial and educational importance. He took part in sporting fixtures and attended many social engagements. He came into personal contact with Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Governor of Madras, the Rulers and Chief Ministers of Alwar, Bharatpur, Bhavanagar and Udaipur, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Bishop of Nagpur, and some high officials of the Government of India.

His Highness took official part in the Golden Jubilee celebrations in the College, in His Imperial Majesty King George V's Silver Jubilee celebrations, and in a public meeting held to make collections for the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund, on each of which occasions he made a speech. He has opened Buildings, Bridges, and Hospital-wards, and made speeches in English and Tamil, and made formal public appearances at Exhibition Cricket Matches, Distributions of prizes at the College, the ceremonies in connection with the Proclamations of the accession of King Emperors Edward VIII and George VI, the Armistice Day and Coronation Day Parades, Scout Awards and Garden parties at the Administrator's Bungalow and at the Residency.

The Council of Administration. 1929—1931. Pending the orders of the Government of India regarding the administration of the State during the minority of the Ruler, the Regent continued to administer the State till February 28, 1929, when, under the orders of the Government of India, a Council of Administration composed of a President, the Dewan and the Chief Judge as ex-officio member was constituted. Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah Pantulu, C. S. I., became President, Rao Sahab G. Ganapati Sastriar, Dewan, and Rao Sahab P. S. Sivangnana Mudaliar, ex-officio Councillor.

During the period from September 26, 1930 to February 25, 1931 when Mr. Raghaviah was away at London in connection with the Round Table Conference, the administration of the State was carried on by the Dewan-in-Council. Rao Sahab G. Ganapati Sastriar was Dewan, Rao Sahab P. S. Sivangnana Mudaliar, first Councillor, and Rao Bahadur E. K. Govindan, second Councillor. Mr. G. Ganapati Sastriar retired from State service on 4-3-1931 and was succeeded by Mr. E. K. Govindan.

Again between September 19, 1931 and November 17, 1931, Mr. Raghaviah was on deputation as a delegate to the Round Table Conference at London, during which period, the State

was administered by the Dewan-in-Council. Mr. E. K. Govindan was Dewan, and Mr. (now Rao Bahadur) R. Krishnamaohariar, Councillor.

The Council of Administration terminated on November 17, 1931.

Palace Affairs.—Ràjkumàr B. R. Ràmachandra Tonḍaimàn, whose claims to the *gáḍi* had been superseded, died at Pondicherry on May 25, 1929. Ràjkumàr Vijaya Raghunàtha Durai Ràja, the ex-Regent, died at Madras on April 3, 1930. The citizens of Pudukkóttai honoured his memory by hanging a life-size portrait of his along with that of Sir Sashia in the Town Hall. The death of M. R. Ry. Mìnàmbàl Ràjàyī Saheba Avergal, paternal grand-mother of His Highness took place on October 11, 1933. The youngest brother of the late Ràja,—Ràjkumàr Krishnasvami Durai Ràja, died at Madras on August 10, 1937.

Revenue, etc. From fasli 1339 the Darbar discontinued the practice of assigning Government lands for non-agricultural purposes free of payment of ground rent, but levied a small condonation price not exceeding Rs. 4 per *kuḷi*. In fasli 1340, they sanctioned the award of prizes for good work to karnams and moniams.

In 1931, orders were passed on the report of the Devastānam Committee. The establishments of charitable institutions were ordered to be reduced taking care to retain the 'essentials of worship.' All the chatrams maintained by the State except the Town chatram were closed. The major *uḷiam* cess was abolished, and the old system of personal service restored, and a sliding scale of fines was levied on defaulters. Default in minor *uḷiam* services entailed a fine amounting to twice the actual cost of getting them performed. (See pages 467-9. Vol. I.).

The Agricultural department was reorganised. New and improved strains of cereals and varieties of cotton and fruit were experimented upon at the farm.

Hopes were entertained that the Méttúr canal would be taken through the Karambakkudi firka in the State. The Darbar carried on prolonged consultations with the Madras Government. In 1928, however, the Madras Government decided not to take the canal through the State.*

Education. This administration encouraged the co-education of girls and boys in the Elementary stage. There were 18 schools exclusively for girls in 1927-28, but the number fell to 6 in 1931-32. In 1929-30 the Ràni's Lower Secondary School was raised to the status of a High School. Another important measure was the gradual abolition of separate schools for Adi-Dravidas. Since 1929-30, pupils of this community have been freely admitted into caste schools all over the State. The Reclamation School was removed to Sandaipéttai in the Town. Mr. Ganapati Sastriar, himself an enthusiastic scout, worked heart and soul for the advancement of the Scout movement in the State. In 1929-30, he held a camp to train Scout-masters, and appointed an Organising Secretary. In 1931-2, the Darbar introduced a liberal scheme of scholarships. Almost all pupils of special merit or extreme poverty got stipends.

Mr. Raghaviah showed much interest in rural improvement, and trained a number of teachers for work in villages and posted them as 'village guides'.

Public Health and Local-Self Government. In 1930, a Pathological and Bacteriological section was attached to the Town Hospital. In the same year, an anti-rinderpest campaign was started. The Surgeon of the Town Veterinary Hospital was sent to undergo a post-graduate course in Pathology at Madras. At the request of the Darbar, Messrs. Aiyar and Mudaliar, two retired Engineers of Madras, made a preliminary investigation of the possibility of supplying water to the Town Municipality from the Vellár. There was a rapid

* See Vol. I. page 187.

increase in the number of Village Panchayats which rose from four in 1925-26 to 38 in 1931-32. In 1929-30, the Village Panchayats held a conference at Umayálpuram.

Justice, Law and Order. The number of Judges in the Chief Court was reduced to four in 1929. The number of Village Panchayat Courts rose to six by 1930-31.

The Town Riot. July 15, 1931. On the morning of that day an unexpected out-break of mob violence in connection with the agitation against one of the periodical revisions of municipal assessments took the capital by surprise. The mob overwhelmed the forces of law and order. One section broke into the President's Bungalow, and destroyed some documents, while another entered the Public Offices, destroyed the records of the Second Trial Court and the Official Receiver's office, and threatened to break into the Treasury. The crowd broke into the Central Jail and set the prisoners at liberty. Some private houses were broken into, and considerable damage caused to property. Although violence ceased about noon, the town was practically under mob-rule until the following morning when a detachment from the Punjabi Regiment despatched from Trichinopoly by the Government of India at the request of the Agent to the Governor-General took control of the situation. The Agent himself arrived shortly afterwards, and, thanks to the effective steps that he took and the presence of the Regiment, public confidence and security were restored. A few days later, this outbreak was followed by organized looting at Andakkulam and at Kannaṅguḍi.

The sequel* may be briefly narrated here. One of the Puisne Judges of the Chief Court presided over the Police Enquiry Committee, and later tried the Kannaṅguḍi dacoity case. Mr. T. B. Russell, I. C. S., a special officer, held an inquiry into the causes of the Riots. Mr. C. Govindan Nair of

* The aftermath of the outbreak is narrated here for the sake of continuity. They relate to the next administration, that of Mr. Holdsworth.

the Madras Judicial Service, who was appointed Additional Sessions Judge, tried the accused in the Town Rioting case. To assist in the restoration of order and the provision of escorts for the large number of accused tried in connection with these outbreaks, the services of a detachment of the Presidency General Reserve were lent by the Madras Government.

These events proved that the State Police as then constituted had neither the experience nor the training to cope with an exceptional situation. The Darbar appointed Mr. Hume of the Madras Police, Commissioner of Police in the State. He increased the strength of the Armed Reserve to provide an adequate striking force which was practically relieved of routine duties. The State military forces were reorganised into two classes—"A" consisting of men of Superior physique trained on the lines of the Armed Police Reserve, and "B" of men of inferior physique who furnish routine guards and ceremonial escorts.*

The Darbar showed their clemency by ordering the withdrawal of the case against 95 accused in the Town rioting case in fasli 1342. In honour of the visit of His Excellency the Viceroy to the State in December 1933, the prisoners concerned in the Anḍakkulam and Kappanguḍi dacoities cases were released on probation of good conduct. The expenditure incurred by the State in connection with these outbreaks amounted to nearly 6½ lakhs of rupees.

Other events. The Trichinopoly—Pudukkóttai section of the chord line of the South Indian Railway from Trichinopoly Junction to Mānāmadurai was opened for traffic on April 17, 1929, and the Pudukkóttai—Mānāmadurai section on July 1, 1930.

The construction of the New Palace was finished in 1929, and His Highness the Rāja took up his residence there in 1930.

* See pages 439 and 477 Vol. I., for fuller details.

Mr. Raghaviah was deeply interested in the preservation of ancient monuments. (See pages 507 and 509 to 514 Vol. I). The Ancient Monument Preservation Regulation was passed in 1930.

Mr. Holdsworth's Administration. November 1931—January 1934.—The Government of India directed in November 1931 that the administration of the State during the minority of His Highness the Ràja should be carried on by an Administrator assisted by an Assistant Administrator. Mr. B. G. Holdsworth, I. C. S., became Administrator, and Rao Bahadur E. K. Govindan, Assistant Administrator. Mr. Govindan retired from service on the afternoon of March 4, 1933, and was succeeded by Rao Bahadur R. Krishnamachariar.

Reforms. The Administrator became the President of the Legislative Council, a system which continues to-day. In his absence, the Assistant Administrator presides, and in the absence of both the Administrator and the Assistant Administrator, the Deputy President presides. The office of the Deputy President was held by a retired official until 1933, when it was for the first time vested in a non-official elected member.

In 1932, the post of the Development Officer was abolished, and his functions transferred to the Dewan Peishkar.

The scheme drawn up by Messrs. Aiyar and Mudaliar to supply to the Town water from the Vellàr was found to be too costly. Mr. J. S. Westerdale, an Executive Engineer of the Madras Government who had also been Chief Engineer to the Travancore Government, suggested a cheaper scheme which the Darbar sanctioned in 1932-33, and the work was taken in hand in 1934. The municipal drainage scheme was extended to the western parts of the Town. A small public garden was laid out by the Municipality near the Jubilee arch and named Holdsworth Park. Some important bridges in the State were completed during this administration (See Vol. I. pp. 238-9).

Mr. Holdsworth practically reconstructed the Valnāḍ anicut, now known as the 'Holdsworth anicut' across the Vellār near Kaḍayakkudi.

The Training School for masters was closed in 1932 as a temporary measure. Mr. Holdsworth did much to foster an interest in cricket in Pudukkóttai.

The number of Touring Veterinary Surgeons was increased to three, one for each Taluk.

The Viceregal visit.—1933. For the first time in its history the representative of His Imperial Majesty, the Viceroy, honoured the State with a visit on December 13, 1933. Their Excellencies the Marquis and Marchioness of Willingdon were received at about 10 a. m. at the Pudukkóttai Railway Station by His Highness the Rāja, the Administrator, the Assistant Administrator and the principal Heads of departments, and were taken in procession through cheering crowds in holiday attire. The children of the schools in the Town and the students of the Rāja's College gave them a rousing reception. The Municipal Council presented an address of welcome to Their Excellencies. His Excellency laid the foundation stone of the X-Ray Department presented by Dewan Bahadur M. R. Subbiah Chettiyar to the Rāja's Hospital. His Highness the Rāja paid a State visit to the Viceroy. Their Excellencies attended a garden party given by the Darbar in the evening and then left for Madras.

In honour of the visit of the Viceroy to the State, the Darbar released all the prisoners concerned in the Aṇḍakkulam and Kannaṅguḍi dacoities cases on probation of good conduct, and awarded a special remission of a substantial portion of their sentences to other convicts. They also declared that all agricultural loans outstanding on the date of the visit were considered to have been granted free of interest.

Sir Alexander Tottenham.—Administrator. Mr. Holdsworth reverted to Madras service on January 3, 1934, and

with effect from that date, Sir Alexander Tottenham, C. I. E. (I. C. S. retired), took charge of the administration. Rao Bahadur R. Krishnamachariar continues as Assistant Administrator.

Change in the designation of the Agent to the Governor-General. With the advent of the new constitution for India on April 1, 1935, the designation of the Agent to the Governor-General was changed to Resident, Madras States.

The Silver Jubilee of King-Emperor George V. May 1935. This was celebrated in the State on 6th and 7th May in the Capital and in seven mofussil centres—Tirumayam, Kíranúr, Alaṅguḍi, Annavaśal, Viràlimalai, Ponnamaràvati, and Karambakkuḍi.

At the Capital the celebration began with a Parade of the State Police, the Infantry and the Body-guard on the *maidan* behind the Public Offices. At mid-day, some 4,000 poor were fed at five different centres—the Palace square, the C. S. M. Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Chery school and the Mosque. At 5.30 p. m., a public Assembly was held in the Palace square attended by some 10,000 spectators. The Proceedings began with the Assistant Administrator reading a Tamil rendering of a message which the Agent to the Governor-General had specially sent for the occasion. This was followed by a speech in Tamil by the Ràja, and a speech in English by the Administrator. A Tamil translation of the latter was read by the Assistant Administrator. Loud speakers had been installed, and the vast concourse listened to the speeches with respectful attention. The Ràja then presented Silver Jubilee medals to the Administrator, Assistant Administrator, and seven others.

Immediately after the Assembly, His Highness went in procession to worship at Tirugókarnam, and to offer prayers for the welfare of Their Majesties. Government buildings on the route and elsewhere, the Clock Tower, the Victoria Diamond Jubilee Arch and many private buildings were illuminated.

After the procession which terminated at about 8 p. m., the idols of Sri Śāntanāthasvāmi Temple were installed on an electrically lighted raft and taken round the Pallavan tank. Prayers and worship were offered at night in the temples. At 4.15, in the Roman Catholic Church 'Te Deum' was sung, and the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament performed as on a first class feast. At the C. S. M. Church a special service was conducted at 9 a. m. The Jumma Masjid and the Durga of the Town were decorated gaily, and some 1,800 Mussalmans assembled in holiday attire. After conducting the *Johar Namaz*, a special prayer, they sat down to a feast. Cloths were also presented at the meeting to the poor.

On the morning of the 2nd day of the celebration, from 9 a. m. to Noon, some 800 poor were presented with cloths at the Town Hall; and the same evening a Scout demonstration, an athletic display and Sports competitions were held on the College Sports Ground, at which His Highness was present with the Administrator, the Assistant Administrator and high officials, and distributed the prizes to the winners.

The celebrations in the mofussil centres consisted of worship in temples, churches and mosques, feeding of the poor and public meetings at which speeches were made expressing loyalty to the King-Emperor and Queen Empress.

The credit for collecting a very handsome sum for the Jubilee Fund goes to Rao Bahadur R. Krishnamachariar, the President of the Central Committee. He visited all Towns and villages of any importance in the State. A sum of Rs. 91,514 was collected including the Darbar's contribution of Rs. 10,000. The amount remitted to the Central Fund at Delhi was Rs. 10,608, and the expenses of the celebration amounted to Rs. 8,675. The balance of Rs. 77,230 was added to the funds of the Vijaya Raghunātha Poor Home at Pudukkóttai. The effort that the people of Pudukkóttai put forth in connection with the celebration was in the words of the Administrator, "worthy of their traditional devotion to the Throne."

On April 27, 1935, the Legislative Council unanimously passed a motion expressing its joy at Their Majesties' Silver Jubilee and reiterating its loyalty to Their Majesties. His Majesty was pleased to acknowledge it and expressed his appreciation of "the sentiments of loyalty and good-will which prompted the message."

The death of King-Emperor George V and the accession of King-Emperor Edward VIII. January, 1936. The news of the lamented death of His Majesty George V on January 20, 1936, reached Pudukkóttai late on 21st January, and was received with universal regret. All Public offices, Courts, and Educational institutions were closed till 27th January, and the State Flags were flown half-mast. Seventy minute-guns were fired at sunrise on 22nd January from the State battery, and full-court mourning was ordered to be observed. The offices and educational institutions were again closed on January 28, 1936, the day of the funeral.

The Proclamation announcing the accession to the throne of His Majesty King Edward VIII was read by the Administrator from the balcony over the main entrance to the Public offices at 4 p. m. on January, 25, 1936. His Highness the Rāja was present. The Assistant Administrator read a Tamil translation of the Proclamation. Flags were hoisted full-mast and an Imperial Salute of 101 guns was fired.

The Legislative Council passed a resolution expressing the people's unbounded grief at the passing away of the King-Emperor George V and affirming loyalty to his successor.

The accession of King-Emperor George VI. December 1936 was memorable for the abdication of the King-Emperor Edward VIII. The Instrument of Abdication signed by His Majesty King Edward VIII and the Proclamation announcing the accession to the throne of His Majesty King George VI were read by the Administrator from the balcony over the main entrance to the Public offices at 9 a. m., on December 14, 1936.

His Highness the Ràja was present. The Assistant Administrator read a Tamil translation of the Proclamations. Flags were hoisted on the public buildings, and an Imperial Salute of 101 guns was fired.

The Coronation in London of Their Majesties King George VI and Queen Elizabeth was celebrated in the State on May 12, 1937. There was a parade of the State Military and Police forces, at 8 a. m., on 12th May, and an Imperial Salute of 101 guns was fired. At noon the poor were fed in the Palace square. In the evening His Highness the Ràja drove in State to worship the guardian Deity of his family and the State, Śri Bṛhadambà, at Tirugókarṇam. Special Divine services were held in churches and mosques, and special worship performed in important State temples.

The Legislative Council passed a resolution offering homage and loyalty to the new King-Emperor.

Administrative measures and Reforms from January 4, 1934.* *Revenue, Irrigation, etc.* With effect from February 1, 1936, the Salt, Abkari and Forest departments were amalgamated with the Revenue department under the Dewan Peishkar. The Dewan Peishkar and the three Tahsildars are now performing the duties of the Superintendent of Salt, Abkari and Forests. The executive duties previously performed by the Circle Inspectors of Salt, Abkari and Forests are now performed by the Revenue Inspectors. To cope with this work, an additional Revenue Inspector has been appointed for each taluk. Before this reform was introduced, each taluk was divided into five Revenue Inspector's divisions, but now each has six revenue firkas (See Ch. XIII, pages 378-381 Vol. I.).

The survey and settlement of *nathams* were placed under a special Tahsildar from July 1, 1935, but, shortly afterwards, the post was amalgamated with that of the Land Records

* Brought up to April 1, 1940.

Deputy Tahsildar. With effect from October 17, 1938, the special *Natham* staff was disbanded, but from October 24, 1938, the work was resumed. There is now a special *Natham* Settlement Inspector with a staff working under the supervision of the Tahsildar of Tirumayam.

In fasli 1345, as an encouragement to ryots to take up waste lands for cultivation, the Darbar sanctioned the assignment of lands on the cowle system under which waste lands taken up for cultivation are charged only $1/3$ of the assessment in the first year, $2/3$ in the second year, and the full assessment from the third year onwards.

Tank bunds where specially liable to erosion or breaching are being revetted. The reader is referred to Chapter V, pages 177-184 for some of the irrigation schemes investigated by the Special Officer appointed in 1935 on which the Darbar have since passed orders.

Under the Agricultural Relief Regulation passed in fasli 1348, the Darbar reduced the rate of interest on loans made by agriculturists. Interest on loans contracted before January 1, 1921, was reduced to 3%, and that on loans contracted after that date to 6%.

To arrest erosion and soil-denudation which threaten to render large areas of land in the State completely sterile and ultimately to silt up and destroy the irrigation tanks, about 4,000 in number, the Darbar have started anti-erosion works in a few areas in an attempt to deal with the problem locally, and propose to expend a substantial sum annually so that gradually all eroded areas will be similarly treated. They are also studying the practicability of far-reaching measures of general application which would check the wide-spread sheet-erosion which is the root of the evil.

With effect from February 1, 1936, the Minor Irrigation department under the control of the Dewan Peishkar was transferred to the State Engineer,

To give effect to the orders passed in 1931 on the recommendations of the Dévastànam Committee, the Darbar appointed a Special Officer to report in respect of each temple on the points submitted by the committee. After a careful consideration of the Special Officer's report, the Administrator felt that the effect of the instructions issued in 1931 would be to introduce drastic changes, such as ought not to be made by a minority administration. He directed that the essential services in temples should not be modified, but only such steps should be taken as would effect economy by eliminating waste (see Ch. XIX. p. 470). Another Special Officer was appointed in 1935 to look into this question and that of determining who were liable to minor *uḷiam* services in temples, but this post was abolished in December of the same year as a measure of retrenchment. (Pages 470-471).

Village Improvement, Agriculture, Co-operation Famine-Relief, etc. The Darbar's view is that experiments by the Agricultural department should be conducted on the lands of the ryots. Some of the more enlightened ryots are prepared to try experiments, and the department has been directed to give them every help and guidance.

The Assistant Entomologist and Mycologist of the Government of Madras visited the State and suggested measures for the eradication of the granary pest—*Rhizopertha dominica*.

In 1937, a conference at which Sir Alexander Tottenham presided was held at Puḍukkóṭṭai, and was attended by the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Trichinopoly, and the Government Entomologist and Cotton Specialist of Madras. Problems relating to the control of cotton pests, cultivation of tobacco, improvement of economic crops such as sugar-cane and plantain, the possibilities of fruit culture in the State, the introduction of drought-resisting strains and dry-farming were discussed. These questions are receiving careful attention at the hands of the Darbar, and the progress made is reported periodically.

Mr. N. V. Kanitkar, Dry-Farming Expert, Shólápúr, visited the State in February 1939 at the request of the Darbar. He toured for a week in the State and examined the soils at various localities. His suggestions on the subject of dry-farming in the State are now under the consideration of the Darbar.

The Darbar have arranged for the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Trichinopoly, to visit the State annually to inspect the work of the Agricultural department and suggest improvements.

In 1935-36, Agriculture was introduced as an optional subject in the High School of the College, and a small demonstration garden was attached to it.

To ensure an adequate supply of good stud-bulls, the Darbar issued a notification on July 1, 1936, offering money grants of from Ra. 100 to 150 to owners of breeding bulls certified by competent officers as fit. (See Vol. I. Ch. IV. pp. 168-9). The cattle shows held at Tirumayam, Tiruvaraṅguḷam and Nàrttāmalai in connection with the annual temple festivals proved to be of great educative value.

The Town Bank, the premier co-operative institution in the State, celebrated its Silver jubilee in 1935. The Administrator inaugurated the celebrations which were presided over by the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar, P. C. Dewan Bahadur Devasikhamani Mudaliar presided over a Co-operative conference held at Virālimalai in 1936. Mr. T. Austin, I. C. S., Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Madras, visited the State in August 1937 when a conference of all prominent co-operators was held.

The problem that has been causing anxiety is the large sum outstanding to the Central Bank from societies, some of which had been liquidated (See Vol. I. Ch. XI. p. 305). The Darbar lent an officer to the Central Bank for appointment as

Executive officer. At the request of the Darbar, the Madras Government lent the services of Mr. Nityanandam Pillai, Sub-Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies, for a period of one month to study and report on the condition of the Co-operative movement in the State. The Darbar have issued orders based on his recommendations for the better working of the societies in the State dealing amongst other matters with the conditions for issuing short term loans, co-operative propaganda by means of village conferences, supervision by the Central Bank, and help to weavers and to ryots who run demonstration farms, etc.

The frequent droughts during this period necessitated the grant of considerable remissions of taxes. The rainfall in 1934-35 (fasli 1344) was so inadequate that crops were not raised at all, or, if raised, failed in most parts of the State. The Darbar granted a remission of 50 per cent of the assessment on wet lands that either had been left uncultivated or, if cultivated, had failed to yield a four anna crop. The total remission thus granted was Rs. 2,62,518. They suspended the recovery of instalments of agricultural loans during the fasli, and ordered the collection of land revenue in six instalments instead of four.

In fasli 1346 again, the rainfall was insufficient in some parts of the State. By two notifications issued in February 1937 the Darbar ordered the collection of land revenue in six instalments and the suspension until further orders of 50 per cent of the kist due on wet lands which either had been left waste, or had failed to yield at least a four anna crop. The result was that against a demand of Rs. 9,36,713 only Rs. 7,58,468 or 81 per cent of the total demand was either collected or adjusted from excess collections in previous faslis.

Fasli 1347 fared better, but in about 51 villages, the rainfall was again insufficient. By a notification issued on March 4, 1938, the Darbar granted concessions in respect of these villages.

Another notification dated March 12, 1938, further extended the concessions. They ordered in effect the suspension of 50 per cent of the kist on all wet lands in the State that had not yielded a four anna crop and the suspension of the entire kist in villages 'affected' in both faslis 1346 and 1347. The other arrears of land revenue were collected in eight instalments.

Fasli 1348 began well. The ryots extended the area under cultivation. Rains unfortunately failed in November, December and January, and there was no water to irrigate the extended area. Early in January 1939, the Darbar were satisfied that wet crops had not been raised over wide-spread and well-defined areas in almost all parts of the State. They, therefore, in a notification dated December 26, 1938, granted the following concessions in respect of wet lands which had not been cultivated owing to drought, or which, for the same reason, though cultivated, had failed to yield at least a four anna crop ;—in the 17 trebly-affected villages, that is, villages in which this was the third consecutive bad season, the full assessment on wet lands was remitted ; in the 33 doubly-affected villages that is, villages in which this was the second consecutive bad season, 50 per cent of the assessment was remitted and the collection of the balance suspended until further orders ; in other villages, 50 per cent of the assessment was remitted. The revenue on wet lands that was not remitted or suspended, and on dry lands, was collected in eight equal monthly instalments beginning from January 1939, instead of in four, as usual; the collection of instalments of agricultural loans falling due in the fasli was suspended and the period for repayment of such loans extended by one year; and the collection of contributions due by ryots on account of *kuḍimarāmat*, or other works connected with irrigation tanks or channels, was suspended during the fasli. Later on, they extended these concessions to service inam lands. The land revenue arrears outstanding on February 2, 1939 were collected in eight monthly instalments from February 1939, and cattle used for agricultural purposes were exempted from attachment. For unauthorised occupation of

Government lands in the fasli only single assessment was charged, unless there were special circumstances warranting the levy of an enhanced rate. The collection of the suspended revenue of faslis 1346 and 1347 was postponed. The rainfall in April, May and June 1939 was fair and relieved the situation to some extent. All hopes of a prosperous year were however dashed to the ground by the unprecedented rains in November 1939. On the 15th and 16th, there was a continuous downpour for nearly 30 hours. The previous maximum rainfall in the Pudukkóttai town was 8 inches in 24 hours, but on this occasion 11½ inches fell in 6 hours in the capital, and 16½ inches at Uḍaiyālipaṭṭi. Hundreds of tanks breached; and among them the Irumbānaḍu, Sembāṭṭūr, Perumānaḍu and Valnāḍ tanks and Kāraikulam. The heaviest damage occurred in the Agñiyār basin. The Búdalūr Road (No. 2), the Tanjore Road (No. 3), the Karambakkudi Road (No. 13), and the Vārappūr Road (No. 14) were severely damaged. The repairs to tanks and roads are estimated to cost about two lakhs of rupees. The Darbar promptly issued a communiqué granting remission in respect of lands damaged by floods. After the floods there was an unprecedented drought of about five months' duration. The smaller tanks ran dry, and crops in many villages withered. The Darbar issued another communiqué in January 1940 granting remission on lands affected by the drought.

The land revenue demand in fasli 1348 decreased to Rs. 7,07,095. The actual seasonal remission granted amounted to Rs. 2,23,617. Only a sum of Rs. 4,13,170 or 58·43 per cent of the total demand was either collected in the fasli or adjusted from excess collections in previous faslis. The fall under land revenue collections for fasli 1349 consequent on the grant of liberal concessions is expected to amount to Rs. 1,60,000.

In faslis 1344-46 and 1348, the Darbar started relief works to provide employment for the agricultural labourers thrown out of work by the drought. The bunds and channels of irrigation

tanks were repaired, *iranis* or ponds cleared of silt, village sites improved, new roads constructed and old ones improved, and works for the prevention of soil erosion undertaken. During faslis 1344-46, a sum of Rs. 3,63,672 was spent, and about 4½ lakhs of units of work provided. (See page 23, Vol. I. Chapter I).

The number of works started in fasli 1348, the expenditure incurred on them and the average number of labourers employed daily are shown below:—

Description.	No. of works.	Expenditure.	Average number of labourers employed daily.		
			Men.	Adult females.	Chittus (boys or girls).
		Rs. A. P.			
1. Road works ...	22	21,788 5 1	1,132	515	946
2. Irrigation works, repairs to tank bunds, etc.	179	61,577 1 2			
3. Village conservancy:—					
(a) Improvement of village sites.	3	937 7 5			
(b) Repairs to <i>iranis</i> and wells.	48	14,043 0 2			
4. Tools and Plant ...	...	1,079 10 1	1,132	515	946
5. Establishment ...	...	885 12 2			
Total ...	252	1,00,311 1 1	1,132	515	946

The total number of 'units' was 5,10,785 consisting of 2,23,056 men, 1,01,368 women and 1,86,961 chittus.

One effect of the drought in faslis 1344-45 was a shortage of drinking water. The Darbar put in hand an extensive programme of sinking new wells or deepening or otherwise improving old wells. There are now 800 drinking water wells in the State, (Ālaṅguḍi Tāluk—210; Koḷattūr Tāluk—201; and

Tirumayam Táluk—389) including 45 paid for by Union Panchayats (Karambakkudi—12; Annavásal—10; Arimalam—2; Tirumayam—11 and Ponnamaràvati—10).

The following statement shows the number of wells sunk, and improved, and expenditure incurred during the five faslis 1344-48.

Fasli.	New wells sunk.			Old wells improved.			Expenditure.		
	Broad.	Bore.	Total.	By boring.	Other-wise.	Total.			
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)			
1344 ...	106	...	106	4	56	60	Rs. 23,908	A 13	P.
1345 ...	221	4	225	14	54	78	1,24,447	64	
1346 ...	35	4	39	13	9	22	31,047	57	
1347 ...	10	5	15	10	18	28	12,517	14	9
1348 ...	5	1	6	7	19	26	4,989	10	8
Total ...	377	17	394	48	166	214	1,96,911	2	7

In fasli 1343, the Darbar created the post of Rural Improvement Officer, and in fasli 1345 constituted a Rural Development Board consisting of seven officials and nine non-officials to discuss all questions of policy relating to the working of the Development departments, and to make suggestions and advise the Government in matters of agricultural, industrial and economic importance. In December 1935, Dr. Spencer Hatch, head of the Rural Improvement Centre at Mārtāṇḍam in Travancore, visited the State. The Rural Improvement officer, and three others underwent a four months' training under Dr. Hatch. The result of this was the starting of poultry-farms, apiaries, and cottage industries. The Darbar started apiaries at the State Farm, in the Ananda Bagh Park and at the Poor Home. Bee-keeping is now spreading into the villages. There are poultry-farms at the Poor Home, and the State Farm, and at

Kíranúr, Viràlimalai, Alaṅguḍi and Karambakkuḍi. The Rural Improvement Officer is trying to popularise a few cottage-industries. Jaggery-making has yielded some appreciable profit at Miratṭunilai. A Sindwahe furnace for the manufacture of jaggery from sugar-cane has been introduced and demonstrated at Puliyúr. Sugar-cane is now being cultivated at Virudalavayal, Kíranúr, Puliyúr, Satyamaṅgalam, Mélur, Aṇḍakkulam, Killanur, Arimalam, Sàttanúr, Idaiyàttur and Kàraiyr. Cashew-nut roasting is now carried on at Ādanakkóṭṭai. The Improvement Officer, the Agricultural Instructors and the Veterinary Surgeons have taken up intensive improvement work in selected villages. Nine villages have so far been selected as model villages, in which attempts are being made to induce the people to avoid extravagant expenditure on marriages, jewellery, etc., not to waste money on drink, but to practice thrift and invest their savings in a Co-operative Bank; to combine their labour for works for the common good; to keep their homes and villages clean and not to commit nuisance near houses or drinking water sources; to devote their spare time to some useful work such as spinning, gardening, rearing poultry, etc., to dig as many wells as possible; to take up dry land for cultivation and above all to rely more upon themselves than on the Government for the amelioration of their condition.

The Darbar appointed a State Marketing officer, and the results of his survey are dealt with on pages 323-26, (Vol. I. Chapter XII).

The Pudukkóṭṭai Match Factory Limited, the Lalitā Soap Works, the Pudukkóṭṭai Weaving Factory, and a tannery at Kíranúr are the chief industries started during this period. The Darbar are helping all these industries and the manufacture of bricks and tiles by the grant of loans or by taking shares in the concern.

Mention has been made on pages 237-239 of the bridges opened by Sir Alexander Tottenham—the 'Màrtāṇḍa Bridge'

over the Pambâr, the 'Tottenham Bridge' over the Agñiyâr, the 'Nariyâr Bridge' on the Alaṅguḍi—Karambakkuḍi Road, and the 'Modakkâr Bridge' on the Maṇappârai Road (No. 9). Other important bridges opened since the first volume was published are the 'Rajagópala Bridge' over the Vellâr near Pālaiyûr on Road No. 15 which is the longest in the State, and the 'Rāmachandra Bridge' over the Śuruliyaṛ on Road No. 47, both opened by His Highness the Rāja, the 'Jānaki Bridge' over the Pambâr on Road No. 29-a and the Tittānviduti Bridge on Road No. 13. The following roads have been opened since the publication of the first volume.

Mileage.		No.	Name of Road.
Mile.	Furlong.		
1	4	5-c	Road from 5-a near 0/5 to Kārayāpaṭṭi in the ayacut of Vallanad tank.
3	1	5-d	Pāṇḍipatnam Road. Road connecting Venkaṭa-kuḷam and Vallattirākóṭṭai.
	5½	5-e	Road from Kārayāpaṭṭi to Maniambalam.
.	3	5-f	Kiṇṇinipaṭṭi Road. Extension of Road No. 5-b from Kiṇṇinipaṭṭi to join Road No. 5-a.
.	9½	5-g	Suppammālpāṭṭi Road (from 5/6 of Road No. 5 to join 0/1 of Road No. 5-c).
3	7	12-a	Koppanāpaṭṭi Road (branching from 9/1 of Road No. 12).
1	.	18-b	Neriñjikuḍi Road.
1	1	20-a	Feeder Road from 14/2 on Road No. 20 to Tonḍaimān Nallûr Railway Station.
	4	21	Extension of Road No. 21 up to State limits.
4	.	21-b	Kiḷattaniyam Road extended to Meḷattaniyam.
1	.	21-c	Idaiyāttûr Road.
	4	23-a	Road from the 7th mile on Road No. 23 to Vellanûr Railway Station.
3	1	28	Venkaṭakuḷam Road. Extension up to Mūpugūḍi-pāṭṭi.
1		28-a	Vennāvalkuḍi—Arayāpaṭṭi—Vanniyanviduti Road (Road from 14/0 in Road No. 28 extended to Vanniyanviduti).
1	2	29-c	Virāchilai—Lakshmipuram Road.

Mileage.		No.	Name of Road.
Mile.	Furlong.		
1	6	30-a	Road from Road No. 30 to Tékkáttúr.
1	5	34	Road from Tirukkalambúr to State limits.
2	■	38	Ammañkurichi Road. Extended to Nagarapaṭṭi.
1	4	48	Perávúraṇi Road. (Extension of Álaṅguḍi—Vaḍakádu Road).
4		54	From Road No. 1.—Trichinopoly Road—to Náṅgu-paṭṭi via Oḍukkúr since extended from Ichipaṭṭi to Marudánpaṭṭi.

Justice, Law and Order.—The reader is referred to pages 431 and 432 (Vol. I. Ch. XVII) for the Darbar's Press communiqué dated October 14, 1934, and their final orders on the question of the reorganisation of the Chief Court. To enable the villagers to have their suits disposed of near their homes, they raised the pecuniary jurisdiction of the Rural Small Cause Courts from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 with effect from January 1, 1935. With effect from July 1, 1935, the Town Sub-Registrar was appointed Notary Public for the whole State. Convicts in the Central Jail are now paid in cash for whatever work they do in excess of the quantity prescribed for them under the Jail rules, so that when they are released, they may have a little money in hand.

Local Self Government. The Darbar have now provided for Muslims, Indian Christians, women, and Adi-Dravidas separate representation by election to the Town Municipality. They have appointed a committee to draft amendments to the Municipal Regulation so as to enable them to confer on the Council the privilege of electing its Chairman. The Town water supply has now been augmented by the Ammayàpaṭṭi scheme (See page 314 Vol. I). Arrangements are being made to supply the suburbs of Tirugókarnam and Tiruvappúr with water from the Aḍappañkuḷam near Sandaipéṭṭai. The Chemistry Lecturer of the Rāja's College was sent to Guindy for special training in water analysis, and he is now periodically testing samples of

water of the Town supply. The gravitation sewer in the Town has now been extended, and steps are being taken to open a sewage farm in the Maruppanivayal to the south of the Town which has been acquired for the purpose. A Chemistry graduate has been trained in Food analysis at the Public Health Institute, Bangalore.

The Darbar's policy is to appoint elected members who secure the largest number of votes as Presidents of Village Panchayats. The Ponnamaravati Panchayat was permitted in 1939 to elect its own President.

Public Health. This period marks an all-round improvement in the General Hospital and the Ràni's Hospital in the Town. The Radiological section, the gift of Dewan Bahadur Subbiah Chettiyar, the foundation stone of which was laid by Lord Willingdon, was opened by His Highness the Ràja in November 1935; the Ear, Nose and Throat section was opened in February 1936; the Dental section in 1934, and the Ophthalmic section in 1938. Considerable additions have been made to the Ràni's Hospital buildings. Among the endowments of the General Hospital are the Nañjunda Rao Children's Ward, presented by Rao Sahib M. G. Ramachandra Rao, the present Chief Medical Officer of the State, and a ward for the Ophthalmic section presented by Mr. K. Pichu Aiyar, in memory of his father, the late Mr. B. V. Kamesvara Aiyar, who retired from State service as Dewan Peishkar; and among those to the Ràni's Hospital, a maternity ward endowed by Mr. Palaniyappa Chettiyar, of Rayavaram and opened by His Highness the Ràja. The Lady Doctor in charge of the Ràni's Hospital was deputed in 1937 to undergo a post-graduate course in the Maternity Hospital, Madras. The Chief Medical and Sanitary Officer underwent training in Nutrition work for two months in 1937 at Coonoor, and attended the Sixth Medical Research Conference held at New Delhi in December 1938.

Pudukkóttai made a splendid response to the appeal of Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow for the King-Emperor's Anti-Tuberculosis fund. Including the Darbar contribution of Rs. 10,000, the collections amounted to Rs. 1,02,000 out of which a sum of Rs. 92,000 will be utilised for opening an Anti-Tuberculosis Clinic in the State. One of the Sub-Assistant Surgeons of the General Hospital has been sent to undergo training at the Arogyapuram Union Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium, Madanapalle.

The Town Municipality opened a Maternity and Child-welfare Centre in the Town, and it was made permanent in fasli 1348. It is now under the supervision of the Lady Doctor of the Ràni's Hospital.

Education. His Highness the Ràja's College celebrated its Golden Jubilee in 1934. A hostel for Adi-Dravidas was opened in 1935. The Darbar revised the scheme of State-aid to pupils in May 1936, an account of which is given on page 293 (Vol. I).

Excluding the High School attached to His Highness the Ràja's College, there were 11 Secondary Schools in fasli 1343. There are now 16. Besides the ten Secondary Schools mentioned on page 276, the Ràni's High School, the Church of Sweden Mission High School and the Sri Bhumsévarasvami High School at Ràmachandrapuram, there are now three aided incomplete Secondary Schools—at Pillamaṅgalam—Aḷagàpuri, Kónàpet, and Ràjavaram. There were 38 compulsory education centres in fasli 1343, but now there are 41.

The Pudukkóttai branches of the Junior Red Cross Society were inaugurated in May 1937. There were 27 branches on July 1, 1939. The work of these branches is supervised by a Central Committee in the Town. The activities of the branches include instruction in personal cleanliness, school sanitation, health talks and propaganda, including dramas and lectures, preparation of health charts, etc., first aid, gardening, and canteen provision of fruit and other vitaminous articles of food.

In July 1939, the Darbar appointed a committee with 10 non-official and 3 official members to explore means of effecting retrenchment in the Education department and His Highness the Rājā's College. The committee submitted its report on the last day of February 1940, and it is now under the consideration of the Darbar. The Darbar have ordered the closing of the Reclamation School in the Town and of those Secondary schools in the mofussil of which the strength is insufficient. They have directed that more aided schools should be opened. As an experimental measure, they have recently * ordered the creation of an Office of Director of Public Instruction who will have control over both His Highness the Rājā's College and the General Education Department.

Archæology. The Darbar have carried on a sustained programme of excavation, renovation and conservation, for a detailed account of which the reader is referred to Chapter XXII. The following monuments have been conserved or selected for conservation since the publication of the first volume.

Nó.	Nature of Monument.	Taluk.	Village.	Particulars.
1	Temple ...	Kolattūr ...	Kīlaiyūr ...	Ruined Śiva temple.
2	Do. ...	Do. ...	Panaṅguḍi ...	Śiva temple and Viṣṇu temple.
3	Do. ...	Do. ...	Maṅgattévan paṭṭi.	Ruins of Jain shrines.
4	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mailapaṭṭi ...	Basement and ruins of Śiva and Jaina temples.
5	Do. ...	Do. ...	Tennaṅguḍi.	Śiva temple.
6	Do. ...	Tirumayan.	Chittūr ...	Śiva temple.
7	Do. ...	Do. ...	Kīlattāniyam.	Śiva temple.

* This arrangement will take effect from July 1, 1940.

No.	Nature of Monument.	Taluk.	Village.	Particulars.
■	<i>Jain Images.</i>	Kolattūr ...	Tennátirai-yanpaṭṭi & Puliyūr.	Two Tīrthaṅkara images, one in the dry lands to the north west of Ālaṅguḍippaṭṭi and the other on the bund of an ūraṇi in Puliyūr village.
■	Do. ...	Do. ...	Kaḍavam-paṭṭi.	Jain image in S. No. 109/S/1-A in Ālattūr nattam.
10	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mailapaṭṭi ...	A Tīrthaṅkara image.
11	<i>Jain images and inscriptions in a cavern.</i>	Do. ...	Nārttāmalai—Rock near Ammachatram.	Jain image and an inscription, and natural cave with stone beds.
12	<i>Other statues.</i>	Do. ...	Mullaiyūr ...	Stone image of a hunter and Jyeṣṭhā Dévi.
■	Do. ...	Do. ...	Virālimalai.	Two lion pillars in the Vāhanamantapam attached to the Śrī Subrahmaṇya temple.
14	Do. ...	Do. ...	Mailapaṭṭi ...	Images of Gaṇeśa and Nandi.

Dolmens conserved since the publication of the first volume.

Taluk.	Site.	Remarks.
Ālaṅguḍi ...	Peruṅgaḷūr ...	Dolmens in S. Nos. 267-a, 269-a, and 302.
Kolattūr ...	Mūṭṭampaṭṭi ...	Dolmens in S. Nos. 10, and 11—(A and B).
Do. ...	Seṅgaḷūr ...	Dolmens and urns lying on the north-west of S. No. 158-E and rear shore of Seṅgaṇi—kanmoi.
Do. ...	Kīḷaiyūr ...	Dolmens near 9/6 mile on Road No. 22 (Kīra-nūr—Killukóṭṭai).
Do. ...	Vattanākurichi.	Dolmens and Urns.
Do. ...	Śittannavāśal...	Dolmen on the north-western corner of Seṅguḷam tank.

Taluk.	Site.	Remarks.
Kolattúr ...	Táyinipaṭṭi ...	Dolmens and Urns. (<i>Korangupaṭṭarai</i>).
Do. ...	Chinnapanduránpaṭṭi.	Káráńkáḍu near Uppumalai.
Do. ...	Kálakkuḍipaṭṭi.	.....
Do. ...	Kadikkalpaṭṭi.	.....
Do. ...	Magathevanpaṭṭi.	Tank W. S. (Urns).
Do. ...	Muttukaḍu ...	(Cists and Urns).
Do. ...	Poyyamani ...	S. Nos. 3, 4/A-B, 9/3-B, 22-1 Cists.
Do. ...	Vattanákurichi.	Pappankulam and Tulbakulam W. S. (Cists and Urns).
Tirumayam...	Chokkanáthapaṭṭi.	Dolmens and Urns.
Do. ...	Do. ...	Sokkanáthankańmoi.
Do. ...	Visvanáthapuram.	(Urns).

Besides these, a number of other dolmens found in Virudapaṭṭi village (Kolattúr Taluk), Killukóṭṭai village (Kolattúr Taluk), etc., have been noticed in the aḍańgal of the respective villages in which they are found.

The European War. The British Empire is once more at war with Germany and Italy. The nations of the British Commonwealth are pooling all their resources in a supreme co-operative war effort, to which the Princes and people of India are handsomely contributing. The resources of Pudukkóṭṭai have always been at the disposal of His Majesty the King-Emperor. To give practical expression to the feelings of His Highness's Government and his people, and to make collections for the War Purposes Fund opened by His Excellency the Crown Representative, a public meeting was held in the Town Hall on December 20, 1939. The Hall was packed to the ceiling. His Highness the Rája supported by Sir Alexander Tottenham

presided over the meeting which he opened with the following speech.

" Sir Alexander Tottenham, Ladies and Gentlemen,

" You will hardly require me to explain the reasons for which the Darbar have summoned this representative meeting of Pudukkóttai citizens. All I have to do is to emphasise how strongly I approve of it, how much I hope for from it, and at the same time to give you all a warm welcome.

" Whatever the momentary appearance of the war situation, I want you to have no doubts whatever in your minds that this war is a world-war, that not only the ideals of justice and freedom and honour, but also the existence of Britain and the Empire—and therefore of India and of Pudukkóttai—are at stake.

" To protect these ideals and us, hundreds of thousands of men are already risking death, blindness, and other disablement, and many hundred thousand more are about to do so, willingly and unselfishly. Actually from this country Indian troops have already gone overseas on our behalf, to Singapore, to Palestine and to Egypt. " Many will not come back ; many more will come back lame, disfigured, blinded, diseased, unable to work, unable to earn, a burden to themselves and to the community.

" In His Excellency the Viceroy's appeal to us on behalf of his " War Purposes Fund ", he mentions three great Societies who make it their special business to see that the wounded and the sick do not have to abandon all hope of pleasure or usefulness in life ; to see that the sacrifices they have made for their countrymen and the world's good are not forgotten when victory has been won. These three Societies are the British Red Cross, the Indian Red Cross, and St. Dunstan's. The first two need no explanation to you. The last is an institution which concerns itself wholly with the blind. They are all Societies employing experts—doctors, nurses, instructors, guides—occupying more and more premises, costly to maintain and in many cases very costly to construct or purchase—using, purchasing and using again, expensive materials, implements and a thousand other necessities—all with the sole object of healing and looking after the men who have faced and suffered from the terrors of war—on our behalf ! Think of the enormous expense of all this !

" Here, in India, States larger and richer than ourselves have already offered troops, material, money, and in some cases the personal services of the Ruler as their contribution to the Empire's effort. Pudukkóttai is small, not rich, and I am a minor. For this very reason, if for no other, I am delighted that His Excellency should have shown us a way in which we can help His Majesty the King-Emperor and his realm in this time of great need. Here is our opportunity. Let us GIVE—now and generously, and thereby show, not

only our sincere sympathy with the victims of war, and with the great Societies whose noble work it is to better their sad conditions, but also the closeness of our attachment, the unfailing loyalty of the State of Pudukkóttai to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and to all that he stands for and wishes us to do, as recently communicated to us by His Excellency the Crown Representative."

A representative and influential committee was formed to collect subscriptions for the War Purposes Fund with Rao Bahadur R. Krishnamachariar, the Assistant Administrator, as President. The Darbar announced a grant of Rs. 10,000 on behalf of His Highness the Rāja, and have now made a further donation of one lakh of rupees. Excluding the Darbar's contribution a sum of about Rs. 50,000 has been collected.

When war broke out one of the first acts of the Darbar was to enforce in the State the provisions of the Defence of India Act and control the movements of aliens. The outbreak of war and the uncertainty of shipping were taken advantage of by local merchants who suddenly put up the prices of articles. The Darbar took prompt measures to prevent panic and to regulate prices of food-stuffs and other essential commodities.

To co-ordinate and intensify the "war effort" of Pudukkóttai, a second public meeting was held in the Town Hall on Tuesday, July 16, 1940. His Highness the Rāja who presided opened the proceedings with the following speech:—

"SIR ALEXANDER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

"It is not very long since I last addressed a meeting of the public of Pudukkottai in connection with the war. When I asked you then to prove our loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor and sympathy with the victims of war by generous subscriptions to the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund (proof which I am proud to say was forthcoming in no inconsiderable measure), one of the main points which I made was that this war was a world-war, and not a local struggle between GERMANY and her European neighbours.

"At this moment, a few months later, there seems little need to recall that point. It is now obvious to the meanest intelligence. Whether we appreciate it or not, we, INDIA, PUDUKKOTTAI, are "in it." The Italians across our western sea-boundary are now actively hostile. The Japanese peer longingly

through the doors of the MALACCA STRAITS—a door a bit more open than it was because of the weakening of friendly obstacles like FRENCH INDO-CHINA and the DUTCH EAST INDIES—across our eastern ocean barrier. Our northern frontiers border also a part of the world on the verge of disruption under the pressure of conflicting ambitions from the North and the West.

“The time therefore seems ripe for me to ask you to listen to a re-statement of my own and your position and prospects.

“I begin by saying that such a re-statement is mainly also a re-iteration—a repetition of three fundamental points in my last address—the *first* being that ENGLAND’S interests and ideals are also INDIA’S, fundamentally and always; the *second* being that my House and you, my people, are and will remain unswerving in our devotion to the person and the realm of His Majesty the King-Emperor; and the *third* being my unshakeable conviction that, however black the immediate prospect, however frequent the incidence of disappointing news, victory ultimately lies with ENGLAND because of the intrinsic justice of her cause, the lessons of her history, the nature of her people and the vastness of her imperial resources.

“But though my main thesis is thus the same, circumstances demand that it be implemented forthwith. Those circumstances are the collapse of so many neutral and friendly countries and the military defeat of BRITAIN’S principal ally before the accurate, conscienceless and utterly inhuman onslaught of the German military machine; the rearing of the heads of jackal nations, sniffing and scraping for the leavings of the great beast of prey that has run amok; and the consequence that the Imperial Mother-country is being forced into such effort as has never before been necessary—a lone, valiant, soul-thrilling effort to grapple with and subdue the monster and those lesser creatures that prowl and rob with it—a modern St. George facing the most modern and hideous of all dragons.

“I have just said ‘effort’ and effort is the keynote of my appeal to you to-day. I have also just reminded you how we, you Pudukkottaians and I, and all that belongs to me, are ‘in it’—we are part of this great effort, and if hitherto any of us have hardly yet felt in any personal way the impact of war, I assure you that it is wrong that it should be so. Our fortunes are linked directly and absolutely with those of BRITAIN, and effort corresponding to hers must manifest itself forthwith.

“He that is not with us in this effort is against us. Remember that. He that hears of an enemy success or British setback, and for a personal or political grudge enjoys the news and makes much of it to a neighbour, is an enemy of England, an enemy of India and an enemy of mine. He that thinks

only of his possessions or his wealth, he that decides that he prefers the clink of coin to the crackle of notes, or removes his deposits from a sound bank to a hole in the ground, he, equally, at this time is an enemy of England, India and of mine. He who regards the present as an opportunity for stirring up the have-nots against the haves, labour against capital or the people against their governments, chooses his time ill. These problems are themselves already in process of solution without our volition; they simply do not matter at the moment; he who thinks they do, is performing a service to the enemy. So even do those who shun all effort, pretend that the world's troubles are no concern of theirs, and refuse to assist authority, subscribe to good causes, or join in common effort for good.

"And that, Ladies and Gentlemen, is why I am speaking here, that is why the Darbar have summoned this meeting—so that we can make a joint effort to mark our loyalty, to discourage our enemies and to conserve our security.

"You will all have read that in many States, as well as in most districts of the Presidency, War Committees have been formed recently. Their functions have been generally as follows.—(a) to disseminate *accurate* news, and to discourage, and report to authority, all attempts at spreading unfounded rumour, favourable or otherwise, or enemy propaganda, (b) to preserve the country or the State's financial credit, and to report or otherwise prevent panicky withdrawals of deposits, unnecessary selling of securities, hoarding of coin or other action likely to hamper ordinary trade or depress or alarm the ignorant, (c) to assist the various security services in keeping things running smoothly, (d) to assist recruiting for the various war establishments, (e) to assist authority in coping with any '5th Column' activities and protect important public works, etc., from acts of sabotage.

"It is just such a Committee that we propose to embody here to-day. If anybody feels inclined to ask about Civic Guards, a word which has also lately been commonly seen in the papers, I would inform him that the Darbar have already taken this matter up, and Pudukkottai will soon be proud of the formation of these auxiliaries to our own security forces. But a live War Committee pledged to steady effort in the directions I have suggested to you I consider a necessity, and trust that you will give the resolutions now to be moved your careful attention and your unanimous approval."

A War Committee was formed of a few officials and a large number of non-officials including all the members of the Legislative Council and the Town Municipality, the Presidents

and members of the Unions and Panchayats, and the Presidents and members of the School Boards. Their functions are those enumerated by His Highness in the last paragraph but one of his speech.

The Darbar have formed a War Information Bureau with Captain Harvey at its head. The members of the Bureau publish and circulate pamphlets and bulletins in English and Tamil and deliver popular lectures giving summaries of current news about the war.

The women of Pudukkóttai are making a good response to Lady Linlithgow's Silver Trinket Fund appeal.

The Government of India Act of 1935. Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, sent out at the end of 1927 the Indian Statutory Commission presided over by the Right Honourable Sir John Simon. It was thought necessary that the conclusions of the Commission should be discussed by a conference of representatives both of Parliament and of the great political parties, States and other important interests in India. His Majesty's Government in England thereupon convened three Round Table Conferences between 1930 and 1932. Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah, President of the Council of Administration in the State, attended the Second Conference as Adviser to the delegate for Mysore and the Madras States, and the Third Conference as the delegate for the Madras States. One result of the discussions was that the delegates agreed to a Federal form of Central Government for India. The two Houses of Parliament appointed a Joint Select Committee in 1933 to draft a constitution for India. The results of nearly five year's work on the subject were embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 (25. Geo. 5).

Since the Parliament in England cannot legislate directly for the Indian States, the range of authority to be conferred

upon the Federal Government and legislature in relation to the States has to be determined by agreement with their Rulers. Nor are the States prepared to transfer to a Federal Government the same range of authority in their territories as in the British provinces. Such of their powers and jurisdiction as they are willing to recognise as federal matters, they have to transfer by a formal Instrument of Accession. Such powers will thereafter be exercised on behalf of the Federation and in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution Act by the Governor-General, the Federal Legislature, the Federal Court and such other Federal organs as the Constitution Act may create. This Instrument has to be executed by the Ruler in person, and, therefore, Pudukkóttai's accession to the Federation has to be deferred until Ruling Powers are conferred on His Highness. His Excellency Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, has, meanwhile, postponed the establishment of the Federal constitution at the Centre until after the close of the war; and the question therefore is not of immediate urgency.

For purposes of representation in the Federal Legislature, Pudukkóttai, has been grouped with Baṅganapalli and Sandūr,—(*Government of India Act—Table of Seats Division IX-3*). The Rulers of these three States are to appoint a representative in rotation to fill a seat in the Council of State and to appoint jointly a representative to fill a seat in the Federal Assembly. Clause 8, of Part II of the *First Schedule to the Government of India Act* has provided an exception to the effect that the Ruler of Pudukkóttai, when appointing in rotation a person to fill a seat in the Council of State, shall be entitled to appoint that person to fill the seat for three years.

With effect from April 1, 1937, when the Government of India Act came into operation in the British Indian Provinces, the Governor-General of India in his relation with the Indian States has been designated the *Crown Representative*, and his

Agent for the Madras States, the *Resident for the Madras States*.



In his speeches to the Princely Order at the meetings of the Chamber of Princes and at banquets held in his honour, His Excellency the Crown Representative has been emphasising the need for the Princes reforming their administrations so as to make them responsive to the needs and wishes of their people. Judged from all the standards set-forth by His Excellency, Pudukkóttai compares favourably with any Indian State with the possible exception of Cochin. The Legislative Council in the State exercises privileges and powers that very few States have conferred upon the representatives of their people. For more than half a century, the Rājās of Pudukkóttai have treated the revenues of the State as public funds in the strict sense of the term, appropriating to their own use only a small part which is separately shown in the budget. The laws are made with the approval and consent of the Legislative Council; the Ruler or the Administrator issuing special laws under extraordinary circumstances in the form of Proclamations. The budget assigns most of the income of the year to the well-being of the people,—to Education, Public Health and Medical relief, the maintenance of Order and Administration of Justice, the provision of communications and irrigation facilities and to different ameliorative measures in villages. The judiciary is independent. Suits against the Government are of frequent occurrence; and Government regard the final decisions of the courts as binding on them. The legislature exercises influence over all aspects of the administration which is carried on through several departments, all organized after the British Indian model. Representatives of the people have frequent opportunities of advising the Darbar in their decisions not only with regard to

departmental matters but practically with regard to the whole range of administration.*



ENVOI.

The history of Pudukkóttai is an epitome of the history of South India. There are in the State vestiges of the oldest habitations of man, some of the oldest lithic records known in the South, and towns and villages renowned in the oldest books of the Tamil language. The State shared in the spiritual and cultural influence of the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Jaina revivalist movements. The Pāṇḍyas, Cōlas, Pallavas, Hoysalas, Vijayanagar, and Madura Nāyaks ruled over the State, fostered its communal organisations, trade and industries and embellished it with temples and monuments of outstanding merit. When the South felt the impact of the Muslim onslaught, the State was not spared. When Nāyak rule at Madura tottered, the Poligars plundered and ravaged the country for more than a century until the Tondaimāns of Ambukkóvil subdued them and

* The following are some of the public bodies constituted by the Darbar to associate non-officials with the administration of the several departments. Most of them have a non-official majority.

Legislation :—The Legislative Council.

Public Finance :—Finance Committee.

Local Self Government :—1 Municipality; 5 Unions and 31 Village Panchayats.

Rural Development :—Rural Development Board; Village Improvement Committees; Village Vigilance Committees

Education :—41 School Boards; Junior Red Cross Central Committee with local councils.

Dévastānam :—Non-official visitors.

Jail :—Non-official visitors.

Justice :—Two Bench courts to try Criminal cases, and 8 Village Panchayat Courts to try civil cases.

Abkari :—Advisory Committee.

APPENDIX II.

LIST OF POLITICAL OFFICERS IN CHARGE OF PUDUKKÓTTAI
FROM 1807.*Residents of Tanjore and Pudukkóttai.*

Captain William Blackburne	...	February 1807 to August 6, 1809.
Captain Butler. (<i>Acting</i>)	...	August 7, 1809 to March 4, 1810.
Captain William Blackburne	...	March 5, 1810 to March 3, 1823.
Captain William Hardy	...	March 4, 1823 to August 21, 1824.
Captain Fyfe	...	August 22, 1824 to November 9, 1830.
Captain W. Tweedie. (<i>Acting</i>)	...	November 10, 1830 to December 31, 1830.
Mr. W. Hudleston. (<i>Acting</i>)	...	January 1, 1831 to March 31, 1831.
Mr. J. Blackburne. (<i>Acting</i>)	...	April 1, 1831 to August 16, 1832.
Captain Douglas	...	August 17, 1832 to October 18, 1834.
Lieut. Colonel T. Maclean	...	October 19, 1834 to July 20, 1837.
Captain C. M. Maclean. (<i>Acting</i>)	...	July 21, 1837 to October 20, 1837.
Lieut. Colonel T. Maclean	...	October 21, 1837 to July 2, 1839.
Lieut. W. Lockhart. (<i>Acting</i>)	...	July 3, 1839 to September 23, 1839.
Lieut. Colonel T. Maclean	...	September 24, 1839 to October 14, 1839.
Lieut. W. Lockhart. (<i>Acting</i>)	...	October 15, 1839 to November 13, 1839.
Captain A. Douglas	...	November 14, 1839 to April 3, 1840.
Lieut. Halpin. (<i>Acting</i>)	...	April 4, 1840 to July 6, 1840.
Captain A. Douglas	...	July 7, 1840 to March 20, 1841.
Lieut. Selby	...	March 20, 1841 to April 14, 1841.
Mr. W. H. Bayley	...	April 15, 1841 to December 21, 1841.

*(The Residency of Tanjore was abolished in 1841).**Collectors of Madura and Political Agents for Pudukkóttai.*

Mr. J. Blackburne	...	December 22, 1841 to December 22, 1842.
Mr. G. D. Drury	...	December 23, 1842 to April 24, 1843.

(Commissioner in charge of Madura).

Mr. W. A. Morehead	...	April 25, 1843 to June 23, 1843.
Mr. W. Elliot. (<i>Acting</i>)	...	June 24, 1843 to July 31, 1843.
Mr. J. Blackburne	...	August 1, 1843 to July 5, 1847.
Mr. R. D. Parker	...	July 6, 1847 to October 24, 1856.
Mr. R. J. Sullivan	...	October 25, 1856 to November 19, 1857.

Collectors of Madura and Political Agents for Pudukkóttai—cont.

Mr. A. Hathaway	... November 19, 1857 to October 21, 1858
Mr. T. Clarke	... October 22, 1858 to February 21, 1860.
Mr. V. H. Levinge	... February 22, 1860 to September 27, 1865.

(Political Agency was transferred to Tanjore in 1865).

Collectors of Tanjore and Political Agents for Pudukkóttai.

Mr. G. Lee Morris	... September 27, 1865 to March 4, 1866.
Mr. G. Banbury	... March 5, 1866 to March 30, 1873.
Hon'ble D. Arbuthnot	... March 31, 1873 to September 18, 1874.

(Political Agency was transferred to Trichinopoly in 1874).

Collectors of Trichinopoly and Political Agents for Pudukkóttai.

Mr. J. B. Pennington	... September 1874 to May 1875.
Mr. H. Sewell	... May 1875 to April 1879.
Mr. C. W. W. Martin	... May 1879 to December 1880.
Mr. H. Sewell	... December 1880 to August 1885.
Mr. H. B. Farmer	... August 1885 to September 1886.
Mr. W. P. Austin	... September 1886 to April 1887.
Mr. W. H. Welsh	... April 1887 to December 1888.
Mr. G. W. Fawcett	... January 1889 to April 1891.
Mr. M. Hammick	... May 1891 to June 1891.
Mr. C. J. Weir	... July 1891 to December 1891.
Mr. W. H. Welsh	... January 1892 to July 1893.
Mr. L. C. Miller	... August 1893 to November 1893.
Mr. J. Andrew	... December 1893 to August 1896.
Mr. J. K. Batten	... September 1896 to January 1897.
Mr. B. Macleod	... February 1897 to October 1897.
Mr. R. H. Shipley	... November 1897 to February 1899.
Mr. J. H. Robertson	... March 1899 to November 1899.
Mr. R. H. Shipley	... December 1899 to February 1901.
Mr. G. W. Elphinstone	... March 1901 to April 1901.
Mr. R. H. Shipley	... May 1901 to August 1903.
Mr. J. P. Bedford	... September 1903 to April 1904.
Mr. C. G. Spencer	... May 1904 to August 1904.
Mr. A. Thompson	... September 1904 to November 1904
Mr. A. Butterworth	... December 1904 to March 1905.
Mr. E. L. Thornton	... April 1905 to October 1905.
Mr. A. Butterworth	... November 1905 to June 1906.
Mr. A. L. Vibert	... July 1906 to August 1906.

Collectors of Trichinopoly and Political Agents for Pudukkóttai—cont.

Mr. A. Butterworth	...	August 1906 to March 1908.
Mr. A. L. Vibert	}	April 1908 to May 1908.
Mr. F. B. Hemingway		
Mr. C. T. H. Johnson	...	May 1908 to October 1908.
Mr. M. Young	...	November 1908 to February 1911
Mr. E. W. Legh	...	March 1911 to October 31, 1911.
Mr. M. Young	...	November 1, 1911 to May 28, 1912.
Mr. J. C. Molony	...	May 28, 1912 to September 6, 1912.
Mr. R. Narayana Aiyar	...	September 6, 1912 to November 22, 1912.
Mr. L. E. Buckley	...	November 22, 1912 to December 29, 1913.
Mr. A. Lionel Vibert	...	December 29, 1913 to February 26, 1916.
Mr. E. S. Lloyd	...	February 28, 1916 to December 9, 1916.
Mr. H. T. Reilly	}	December 9, 1916 to January 1, 1917
Mr. Souter		
Mr. E. S. Lloyd	...	January 1, 1917 to August 18, 1917.
Mr. John Gray	...	August 18, 1917 to September 25, 1917.
Mr. E. S. Lloyd	...	September 25, 1917 to June 7, 1918.
Mr. E. P. Walsh	...	June 8, 1918 to September 4, 1918.
Mr. H. T. Reilley	...	September 5, 1918 to April 6, 1919.
Mr. C. G. Austin	...	April 7, 1919 to November 26, 1919.
Mr. F. J. Richards	...	November 27, 1919 to December 20, 1919.
Mr. E. W. Legh	...	December 21, 1919 to January 27, 1921.
Rai Bahadur U. Rama Rao	...	January 27, 1921 to March 8, 1922.
Mr. Percy Macqueen	...	March 8, 1922 to September 30, 1923.

(With effect from October 1, 1923, Pudukkóttai came under the direct charge of the Government of India represented by the Agent to the Governor-General, Madras States).

Agents to the Governor-General, Madras States. (Headquarters—Trivandrum).

Mr. C. W. E. Cofton, C. I. E.	...	October 1, 1923 to May 4, 1926.
Mr. P. Macqueen, Collector of Trichinopoly and Assistant Agent.	}	Till March 19, 1926.
Mr. P. C. Dutt, Assistant Agent		
		March 19, 1926 to October 1, 1926.

(The office of Assistant Agent was abolished with effect from October 1, 1926).

Agents to the Governor-General, Madras States.
(Headquarters—Trivandrum)—cont.

Mr. H. A. B. Vernon	...	May 4, 1926 to November 9, 1926.
Mr. C. W. E. Cotton	...	November 9, 1926 to April 18, 1928.
Lieut. Colonel C. G. Crosthwaite,		April 18, 1928 to December 14, 1929.
C. B. E.		
Mr. A. N. L. Cater, C. I. E.	...	December 15, 1929 to October 20, 1930.
Lieut. Colonel H. R. N. Pritchard	...	October 20, 1930 to November 21, 1932.
Lieut. Colonel D. M. (now Sir		November 22, 1932 to February 22,
Donald) Field.		1935.
Lieut. Colonel W. A. M. Garstin,		February 22, 1935 to November 19,
C. B. E.		1936.
Mr. C. P. Skrine, O. B. E.	...	November 20, 1936 to April 1, 1937.
<i>(The designation of Agent to the Governor-General was changed to that of</i>		
<i>Resident with effect from April 1, 1937).</i>		

Residents for the Madras States. (Headquarters, Trivandrum).

Mr. C. P. Skrine, O. B. E.	...	April 1, 1937 to January 15, 1939.
Lieut. Colonel G. P. Murphy	...	From January 16, 1939.

APPENDIX III.

LIST OF ADMINISTRATORS OF THE STATE FROM 1807 A. D.

<i>Managers.</i> —		
Tirumalai Tonḍaimán.	}	1807 to 1814.
Máppillai Pallavaráyar.		
<i>Sirkil.</i> —		
Venkappayya or Venkat Row.		
<i>Residents' Agent.</i> —		
Anantayya		
<i>Managers.</i> —		
Sairóba Naig. (<i>Principal</i>	}	1814 to 1815.
<i>Manager</i>).		
Anantayya		
Tána Pillai.		
<i>Counsellors.</i> —		
Sairóba Naig. (<i>Principal</i>).	}	1815 to 1822 (?)
Anantayya.		
Tána Pillai.		
<i>Sirkil.</i> —		
Sairóba Naig	...	1822 to 1839.
<i>Council of Regency.</i> —		
Kattakurichi Áyi	}	1839 to 1844.
Appá Aiyar. (<i>Fauzdár</i>).		
Sairóba Naig. (<i>Sirkil</i>).		
<i>Sirkils.</i> —		
Sairóba Naig	...	1844 to 1853.
(Gópál Naig, <i>Deputy Sirkil</i>)	...	From 1851.
Gópál Naig	...	1853 to 1854.
R. Appásvámi Aiyar	...	1854 to 1863.
Bhavánisankar Row	...	1863 to 1878.
Sir A. Śashia Śástriar, K. C. S. I....		1878 to July 1886.
(<i>Styled Dewan</i> from 1885 to 1886).		
<i>Dewan Regent.</i> —		
Sir A. Śashia Śástriar, K. C. S. I....		1886 to 1894.
<i>Dewans.</i> —		
R. Védántácharlu	...	1894 to January 1899.
(Rájkumár Vijaya Raghunátha		
Durai Rája— <i>Councillor</i>).		1898.

Dewans.—cont.

Rájkumár Vijaya Raghunátha Durai Rája. (A. Venkat Row, <i>Acting Councillor</i>)	} January—February 1899.
Dewan Bahadur S. Venkatarama das Naidu. (On leave between September 11, 1905 and October 10, 1905).	
Rajkumar Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Raja— <i>Councillor</i> till July 1908. (<i>Acting Dewan</i> between September 11, 1905 and October 10, 1905.—Mr. C. Rajagopala Pillai acted as <i>Councillor</i> during this period).	} February 18, 1899 to March 1909.
<i>State Council.—</i>	
Mr. (now Sir) G. T. H. Bracken. I. C. S., <i>Superintendent of the State.</i>	
Rájkumar Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Rája, <i>Dewan.</i> Mr. C. Rajagopala Pillai, <i>Councillor, ex-officio.</i>	} March 1909 to April 10, 1910.
Mr. A. M. A. C. Galletti-di- Cadilhac, I. C. S., <i>Superinten- dent—acting.</i>	
Rájkumar Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Rája, <i>Dewan.</i> Mr. C. Rajagopala Pillai, <i>Councillor.</i>	} April 11, 1910 to June 28, 1910.
Mr. G. T. H. Bracken, I. C. S., <i>Superintendent.</i>	
Rájkumar Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Rája, <i>Dewan.</i> (On leave from September 16, 1910 to December 18, 1910).	
Mr. C. Rajagopala Pillai, <i>Councillor.</i> (<i>Acting Dewan</i> from September 16, 1910 to December 18, 1910).	} June 29, 1910 to February 23, 1913.

State Council—cont.

Mr. J. T. Gwynn, I. C. S.

Superintendent.

Rájkumar Vijaya Raghunatha
Durai Rája, *Dewan.* (On leave
from May 11, 1914 to October
8, 1914).

Mr. C. Rajagopala Pillai,

Councillor, till July 7, 1915.

(Acting *Dewan* from May 11,
1914 to October 8, 1914).

February 24, 1913 to August 19, 1915.

Mr. G. Ganapati Sastriar,

Acting *Councillor, from May*
11, 1914 to October 8, 1914
and *Councillor* from July 10,
1915.

Mr. G. W. Priestley, I. C. S.,

Superintendent—acting.

Rájkumar Vijaya Raghunatha
Durai Rája. *Dewan.*

August 20, 1915 to September 19, 1915.

Mr. G. Ganapati Sastriar,

Councillor.

Mr. J. T. Gwynn, I. C. S.,

Superintendent.

Rájkumar Vijaya Raghunatha
Durai Rája. *Dewan.*

September 20, 1915 to October 12, 1915.

Mr. G. Ganapati Sastriar,

Councillor.

Mr. (now Sir) Sidney Burn,

I. C. S., *Superintendent.*

Rájkumar Vijaya Raghunatha
Durai Rája. *Dewan.*

October 13, 1915 to May 11, 1919.

Mr. G. Ganapati Sastriar,

Councillor.

Mr. Thomas Austin, I. C. S.,

Superintendent—acting.

Rájkumar Vijaya Raghunatha
Durai Rája. *Dewan.*

May 12, 1919 to February 11, 1920.

Mr. G. Ganapati Sastriar,

Councillor.

State Council—cont.

Mr. Sidney Burn, I. C. S., Superintendent.	}	February 12, 1920 to October 23, 1922.
Rájkumar Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Rája. <i>Dewan.</i>		
Mr. G. Ganapati Sastriar, Councillor.		

Regency.—

Rájkumar Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Rája, <i>Regent.</i>	}	October 23, 1922 to February 28, 1929.
Rao Bahadur P. K. Kunbunni Menon, <i>Dewan.</i> (<i>On leave be- tween October 25, 1926 and December 15, 1926 when Mr. G. Ganapati Sastriar acted as Dewan.</i>)		

Council of Administration.—

Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah Pantulu, C. S. I., <i>President.</i>	}	March 1, 1929 to September 25, 1930.
Mr. G. Ganapati Sastriar, <i>Dewan.</i>		
Mr. P. S. Sivagnana Mudaliar, <i>Ex-officio member.</i>		

Dewan-in-Council.—

Rao Saheb G. Ganapati Sastriar, <i>Dewan.</i>	}	September 26, 1930 to February 25, 1931
Rao Saheb P. S. Sivagnana Mudaliar, and		
Rao Bahadur E. K. Govindan, Councillors.		

Council of Administration.—

Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah Pantulu, C. S. I., <i>President.</i>	February 26, 1931 to September 19, 1931.
Rao Saheb G. Ganapati Sastriar, <i>Dewan.</i>	February 25, 1931 to March 4, 1931.
Rao Bahadur E. K. Govindan, <i>Dewan.</i>	March 5, 1931 to September 19, 1931.
Rao Saheb P. S. Sivagnana Mudaliar, <i>Ex-officio member.</i>	February 25, 1931 to August 24, 1931.
Mr. P. Chenchiah, (<i>Acting member</i>).	August 25, 1931 to September 19, 1931.

Dewan-in-Council.—

Rao Bahadur E. K. Govindan,	} <i>Dewan.</i>	September 20, 1931 to November 17, 1931.
Mr. R. Krishnamachariar,		
<i>Councillor.</i>		

Administrators.—

Mr. B. G. Holdsworth, I. C. S. ...	November 18, 1931 to January 2, 1934.
Sir Alexander Tottenham, C. I. E., I. C. S. (Retired).	January 3, 1934 to April 24, 1938.
Mr. H. R. Bardswell, I. C. S. (Retired) <i>acting</i> .	April 24, 1938 to October 24, 1938.
Sir Alexander Tottenham, C. I. E., I. C. S. (Retired).	From October 24, 1938.
(Rao Bahadur R. Krishnamachariar was Administrator-in-charge from January 29, 1940 to February 28, 1940, when Sir Alexander Tottenham was on leave).	

Assistant Administrators.—

Rao Bahadur E. K. Govindan ...	November 18, 1931 to March 3, 1933.
Rao Bahadur R. Krishnamachariar.	From March 3, 1933.

